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THE GIFT OF
Al Loring Clark, Jr.
(estate)

The War Guilt and Peace Crime of the Entente Allies

BY
STEWART E. BRUCE



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PREFACE

I have held the belief from the beginning of the struggle that Russia, Great Britain and France were essentially as guilty of bringing on the World War as Germany. Even if this guilt had been very generally recognized, a book such as this might have been deemed neither wise nor expedient, provided the victors had atoned for their share in the guilt by acting with some degree of moderation when the time for settlement had arrived. But when the terrible nature of the Peace settlement is contemplated, one would be untrue to his own conscience as well as lacking in duty to humanity if no attempt were made to reopen this whole question, now that free speech and a free press are again in our possession.

The purpose of this book is to show the guilt of the Entente Allies, America's unwise participation in the struggle, the evil nature of the Peace settlement, and most important of all—the structural changes which will be necessary in the governments of such countries as Great Britain, France, Germany and America, to the end that the people will become the real masters of their own destiny, so that a repetition of such a world calamity may not again occur.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

Introductory	1
--------------------	---

CHAPTER II

Great Britain	27
---------------------	----

CHAPTER III

France	61
--------------	----

CHAPTER IV

Russia	68
--------------	----

CHAPTER V

The United States	70
-------------------------	----

CHAPTER VI

A Further Consideration of Inconsistency, Insincerity and Guilt	116
--	-----

CHAPTER VII

The Peace of Versailles	144
-------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VIII

The Lessons and the Remedy	170
----------------------------------	-----

What in me is dark
Illume, what is low, raise and support;
That to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal Providence
And justify the ways of God to men.

—*Milton.*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Peace, above all else, is what the world needs to-day—not physical peace alone, but mental and spiritual peace as well.

Germany is crushed. The Kaiser is a refugee. The triumphant armies of the Allies, for the most part, have returned to their respective countries, and their battle flags are furled.

The great leaders representing the victors, after months of labor, have presented to the world a "Peace Treaty," presumably in accordance with the lofty war aims, which were set forth from time to time during the course of the conflict and which were to serve as a rallying cry for the hosts of "freedom against autocracy."

The conquered peoples have abjectly accepted the terms of their conquerors. Since the Armistice was signed the winter snows have fallen, the grass has grown green and again the snow falls on Flanders Fields, and yet there is no peace anywhere in the world except perchance the peace that death has brought to the millions who are the victims of this appalling sacrifice.

We hear the cry "Peace," "Peace" but there is no peace. Civilization to-day stands rebuked. The scourge is on the bare back of every country, both ally and enemy. The heavens are dark with the avenging wrath of the Almighty God. Governments are trembling as if by palsy. Envy, hatred, revenge, excesses, vio-

lence, starvation and death stalk up and down the lands. Truly we have sown the wind and now we are reaping the whirlwind.

What harvest may the world expect from such a sowing? What manner of harvest must we reap, if for five long seasons we sow lies, hatred, revenge, malice where once grew mercy, kindness and truth?

No miracle can save the world from the black abyss into which it has fallen. Our disease is not merely collective but it is also individual. The tares must be uprooted from the garden of each heart, and truth, charity, humanity and love must be substituted. There is but one formula to be applied—"Know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free."

What the world needs to know now for its temporal salvation is the Truth. Truth about their leaders, truth about their enemies, and truth about themselves.

If lies led the world astray, then it is manifest that truth is the only hope of the world to-day.

It is hard to forgive your enemy and make peace with him if you continue to believe that you are entirely right and he entirely wrong, but if you should find extenuating circumstances in his favor, or should discover that there was blame on both sides, enmity in all likelihood would soon pass away.

No real peace can come to the world until the real truth about this war is known to all. If the world has been led astray by falsehoods, by lying propaganda, by organized and systematic misrepresentation, and if hatred and revenge has taken possession of the human heart thereby, it is evident that truth is the essential rectifying and restoring agent. It is indeed not necessary for you to know that your enemy was

right and you wrong in order to lay a basis for reconciliation, but it is necessary to know that both of you were to blame—and quite equally. If on investigation it were determined that the Allies were equally to blame with Germany in being responsible for the late war, the whole heart of humanity would change its attitude, a new spirit of forgiveness would follow, and this in itself would tend to bring true world peace. If it were found that Britain, France and Russia were equally guilty with Germany, then we are in honor bound to acknowledge this fact in justice, if for no other reason, to the twelve millions of Germans in America, who before the war were considered highly desirable and useful citizens, and who while the war lasted were the victims of all the artifices that malignant hatred could invent.

In this volume as a contribution to truth and world peace, I will endeavor to show: (1) that Russia, France and England were all guilty and all contributed to the causing of the world war, (2) the particular selfish aim and object which each country expected to attain as a result of the war, (3) the heroic and the stupid parts America played in the great war tragedy, (4) what means must be taken by the people to prevent a recurrence of such a catastrophe.

In this inquiry for truth I do not purpose taking time or space to prove Germany's guilt. That task has been covered in every detail and from every possible angle by thousands of interested and disinterested investigators. The contributions on this question are perhaps more voluminous than on any other subject in all history. Some of the findings are unbiased and enlightening, but the greater part can only be purified by being consigned to the flames,

unless this generation desires to go down in history as being the victims of the vilest propaganda, and the most unfair if not criminal distortions of the truth ever experienced by man.

Viewing the records of the past five years, a disinterested observer might be pardoned if he sincerely asked, "Is there truth in anything, anybody or anywhere?" All things seem tinctured or distorted. All sense of fitness, fairness, justice and proportion seem to have vanished. Reason, for the present, seems to be dethroned and men are governed in the most part by their primeval and baser instincts. The caveman to-day is grinning through the thin veneer of so-called civilization.

Witness for example the monstrous request of the British and French nations through their accredited spokesmen, that the late Emperor of Germany be tried by them for high crimes committed against international law and order. The Kaiser may be as guilty as all Hell, but who can measure the degeneracy of such an offense against elementary justice as that any man should be brought into court in which his revengeful enemy is the complainant, prosecutor, judge, jury and executor? Had a trial of the Kaiser been desirable, it should have been left to a court made up of neutrals with the request that they should not only pass on the guilt of the Kaiser and those associated with him, but that they should also pass judgment on all the leaders who had any part in letting loose the dogs of war in August, 1914. This one act or request by a responsible British statesman will show future generations, as nothing else will, how far the world has drifted away from the well established and universally recognized principles of justice—principles that had

marked prior to 1914 the high-water mark of our civilization.

He who would do full justice to friend and foe alike in order that Peace may be hastened on this earth must before all else recognize in heart and brain the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. He must free himself of the baleful influence of that tribal instinct which masquerades under the guise of super-patriotism, that pagan worship of the state, material though it is, corrupt though it is, which operates always to the exclusion of the plain and unmistakable teachings of Christ.

When the question of simple justice is in the balance, an honest man will know no city, no state, no nation or kindred, for justice has no bounds is universal and eternal.

In arriving at a correct judgment as to the guilt or innocence of Russia, England and France, we must turn back the pages of history to those formative and eventful days in 1914, beginning with July 26th, and ending August 5th, the date of the staging of the world war drama.

The neutral press covering this period must be consulted and dissected by the future historian in order that he may obtain unpartisan information as to what really and truly did occur on those momentous days. In order to know definitely the opinion of the world as expressed and reflected in the newspapers, both by despatches from Europe and editorials at that important time before propaganda had gotten in its deadly and poisonous work, we of necessity are compelled in this inquiry to rely to a degree on the press of these dates, among other things to give material evidence for our guidance in reaching a verdict.

In order to obtain a proper perspective, it will be necessary to divide into four arbitrary divisions the important time under consideration, namely:

(1) That period beginning with the slaying of the Austrian Crown Prince and ending August 5, 1914, the day when Great Britain joined Russia, France and Belgium in war on Germany.

(2) From August 5, 1914, until America entered the war.

(3) From America's entry until the Armistice.

(4) From the Armistice up to the present.

In-so-far as arriving at the truth goes, with regard to placing the guilt on the heads of those responsible for the world's greatest calamity the first named period will, without doubt, be chosen by the impartial historian of the future as the one in which the records are more clear and clean than during any subsequent period; that period in which the crystal streams of truth were as yet comparatively free from the poisons of propaganda; when men spoke their minds freely without being charged with pro this and pro that, and when men read history with their understanding, and less through the spectacles of inflamed passions and prejudices.

Those, indeed, were the days of free speech, free press and free men—men free to point out if they cared to without risk of imprisonment such outstanding facts as, for instance—that for self protection Germany required an army equal to the combined strength of her border neighbors, Russia and France; as England for her protection required a navy equal to the combined strength of any two of her rivals; that a record of forty years of peace should count for

something before the tribunal of public opinion; that nearly every civilized country during that time had their hands more or less stained with human blood, and also that the character and record of those arrayed against her, as attested to by history, entitled their pretended war aims to be received with at least as much suspicion as those entertained by fair-minded men against Germany.

We cannot turn backward old time in its flight for a day, much less five years, but we can turn back the printed page of history and in a measure re-live the fateful hours of the past, breathe its atmosphere and drink from the streams of truth, which often are clearer at their source; and again refresh our memory which time and circumstances have dimmed or distorted.

As a preliminary to this inquiry as to war causes and war guilt the records and impressions as contained in the press at that time must now be recalled and re-examined. Notwithstanding the fact that eighty per cent of the American people were connected by blood relation to the people of the Entente Allies, and therefore their sympathy would naturally go to them, we find in the face of this a strong public sentiment as expressed in the press, condemning all parties engaged in the European contest.

Foreign news for American publications came through the Associated Press and other non-partisan news agencies. These despatches and summaries are usually based upon verified information, and in normal times reflect conditions truthfully as set forth and described. Through such agencies as these, London and Berlin, for instance, years ago received as authentic news and description of the San Fran-

cisco earthquake as did the people of California. In such cases as these there was no necessity for falsehood or misrepresentation.

It is safe to say that up to August 5, 1914, propaganda as we now understand it, was not in evidence and could not be detected in the news as hourly flashed from London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg. Unconscious partisanship may be detected in both the despatches and conclusions, but take it as a whole, no effort was made to influence public opinion, and the news gatherers and contributors were true and faithful to the highest traditions of the newspaper calling.

The representatives of the news agencies cabled the news as they got it and accompanied this news with descriptive material, reflecting, to the best of their ability, the atmosphere, and the lights and shadows surrounding the actors as they began playing their parts in those eventful and never-to-be-forgotten days.

On the morning of July 26, 1914, the world awoke to find that a general European War, long promised, long delayed, was not only a possibility but now almost a stern and horrible reality. Half a score of men were holding in the hollow of their hands the fate of Europe; while the life and death of untold millions rested on the whim, caprice or ambition of men whose number could be counted on the fingers of the human hand.

God Almighty alone knew all the hidden secrets of the heads and hearts of these men, but it has surely been left to mortals, even ordinary mortals, to divine at least some of the motives of these so-called national leaders, which operating at the time, failed to stay the hand that would unleash the dogs of war.

It must be remembered that up to the third week in July the Austro-Servian difficulty was purely local in character, and remained so until the Russian Czar took an uncompromising stand in relation thereto.

Examine, if you will, not necessarily with a microscope, but with the naked eye, that bastard child of a shameless union of civilization and barbarism, that hairy half animal and half man, that tyrant under whose blonde skin flowed the blackest and crudest blood of Europe and then ask yourself in the name of God and humanity, if this is the creature that Great Britain and France acknowledged as leader and blindly followed into a war that any madman would know, meant the destruction of Europe. Or, was it that Great Britain and France, too proud to acknowledge such a leadership, used this Russian tyrant and his two hundred million slaves as a hunter uses his hounds to tree the enemy and then proceed to bag him at will in more or less safety and security.

Here, for example, in Southern California, published in Los Angeles, are two typical morning newspapers—the Daily Times and the Daily Examiner. More than a million people depend largely on these papers for their local and world news. The Examiner has been charged with being Anti-British and by some Pro-German, therefore that paper will be excluded in this inquiry and the cable dispatches and editorials of the Times will be presented as the first newspaper evidence, among numerous others, as showing the mind of Europe and the American sentiment that obtained between July 26th, when a general European war became an almost foregone conclusion, and August 5th, the day when Great Britain decided to cast her

lot with Russia, France and Belgium in war on Germany. After August 5th a strict censorship was established, and a screen was thrown around Germany, and immediately propaganda was begun under British leadership to whet the fighting spirit of the Allies and win for their cause the support of neutral nations. Therefore, the following despatches and editorials, free from the censor and comparatively free from the poison of propaganda, are presented as showing that a large portion of the reputable press of America believed that the guilt of Russia, Great Britain and France was clearly manifest and the underlying causes for the European war antedated by many years the murder of the Austrian Crown Prince. It will be shown further, that these same publications, at a later date, in obedience to the command of their masters or to race prejudice, joined in a general condemnation of Germany and a laudation of all aims and objects of her enemies. It will be well for the reader to examine the cable despatches which came direct from London and also to note the editorials, which at the time expressed spontaneous convictions, and then compare them with the tirades of later dates.

The Daily Times of Los Angeles, for instance, is typical of a large section of the American Press. Up to August 5, 1914, the American papers had at their disposal as much knowledge of war causes as at any subsequent period, and it will be interesting to note their attitude then and compare it with their virulent and inconsistent position later.

For instance, on July 31, 1914, the Los Angeles Times had the following editorial; written after viewing the whole European situation.

“Russia may take up the quarrel that she

has seemed anxious to have since the Crimean War. France scarcely seems to conceal her expectations that she will be drawn into the conflict. Germany is bound by an alliance that cannot well be ignored at so crucial a time. . . . Emperor William called with picturesque inappropriateness "the war lord of Europe" is trying to maintain harmony."

On August 2nd (three days before Britain declared war) the Times had the following interesting editorial:

"Britain is smiling; they laugh at how Germany is putting her foot into the sea; England knows who is ready for the sea and who is not. England has been unhappy about Germany's idea of a fleet for some time. There will be a noise like a crack of doom Over There if this continues to look like England's opportunity."

The Times was right. Three days later, on August 5th it did look like Britain's opportunity. Her enemy and trade rival was almost surrounded—Russia on one side and France on the other ready to dismember her. Could anything be more to Britain's liking?

On August 5th, the Times on a prominent part of the first page gives the reasons why each country is at war.

- (1) Russia's desire to have supremacy in Eastern Europe.
- (2) Germany to fulfil obligations to Austria, also to cripple her rapidly growing rival—Russia.
- (3) France as an ally of Russia to get back lost provinces.

- (4) England to support France and Russia, to cripple her rapidly growing Naval rival.

CABLE DESPATCHES

The morning of July 26th, 1914, brought the first cablegrams which apprised the American people that a general European war was imminent. These despatches will prove at the present time both interesting and instructive.

(BY ATLANTIC CABLE AND ASSOCIATED PRESS)

London, July 26th "The vital question to Europe is whether Russia will come to the rescue of her little Slav brother involving the other powers and making of the war a dread struggle of the Slav against Teuton for European supremacy."

London, July 26th "Report from St. Petersburg says that Russia is mobilizing, but it is to be remembered that Russia mobilized to some extent when Austria annexed Bosnia, and the German Emperor stepped to the side of his ally and put a veto on Russian intervention."

St. Petersburg, July 26th "General Soukhomlinoff, Russian minister of War to-day made a long detailed vigorous speech showing the complete military readiness of Russia."

Paris, July 26th "The Republic Francaise—'We are called upon to intervene, not as mediators but as belligerents, with all our forces' (Up to this time France was not directly or indirectly threatened)."

Berlin, July 26th "Germany has made known to the European capitals, particularly

Paris and St. Petersburg, that she regards the conflict between Austria and Servia as concerning these two states alone, and the contest, therefore, must be localized. The statement continues that German endeavors are directed towards inducing the other powers to accept that standpoint so that the peace of Europe may be preserved."

Berlin, July 27th "It is understood here that Russia has informed Berlin that no mobilization has taken place. In consequence of this Germany has decided not to mobilize unless Russia does so."

Paris, July 29th "The French Government has taken firm means to suppress anti-war meetings. A strong sentiment for peace is shown amongst the people." (Strange proceedings of a Government that desired peace, to suppress peace meetings.)

Brussels, July 29th "Military movement in Belgium is being pushed rapidly, and by to-morrow evening one hundred thousand men will be equipped and ready. The forts around Liege and Namur are receiving war equipment."

London, July 31st "Germany has addressed a note to Russia requesting an explanation of Russian mobilization and in the absence of a satisfactory reply, it is feared here that Germany may take steps to mobilize also. Sir Edward Grey invites Germany to suggest some way out of the difficulty. Germany's view is, that it behooves England and France to bring pressure on Russia so as to allow the two principals to settle their differences without outside interference."

Berlin, July 31st "Grand Duke Ernst of Hesse, a brother of Empress Elizabeth of Russia, was sent to-day by Emperor William to Russia in a last endeavor to arrange peace."

London, August 1st "The belief is held here by many that the existence of the whole of Europe as an armed camp, nervous and jealous, can have but one culmination, and if the hour for a general settlement has struck, there will be no faltering."

London, August 1st "War developments have moved to-day with startling rapidity. The German ultimatum to Russia demanding that Russia cease the mobilization of her army expired at noon and at 5:15 o'clock in the evening the German Emperor signed a mobilization order.

"Now the die is cast and Europe is to be plunged into a general war, which has been the apprehension of European statesmen for generations. It is now only a question of how soon a state of actual war will exist between Germany and France.

"Late to-night placards were posted in Paris calling for general mobilization and the German ambassador, although he has not been handed his passport, was preparing to leave the French capital. It is not known at exactly what hour Germany's ultimatum to France asking that country to decide what attitude she would assume in the case of a war by Germany and Austria against Russia, was to expire, but it is believed it will not be long before diplomatic relations will be ruptured or war declared.

"The German Emperor and his advisers,

have maintained to the last that they made a supreme effort for the sake of peace and the last of the series of earnest appeals from Emperor William to Emperor Nicholas was a telegram repudiating responsibility for the calamity threatening the world on the grounds that while Germany was engaged in mediating with Austria-Hungary at Russia's request, Russia by her general mobilization was threatening Germany's safety."

London, August 1st "From the moment Austria-Hungary caught the world napping in its swift attack on Servia, the German Emperor has been one of the principal figures in the situation. To-night all London regards him as the chief figure, isolated, dominating, unafraid, with his back against the wall; desiring peace but adhering to the demand of his people for war.

"Many persons believe the situation would have been different to-night if Emperor William had been at Potsdam instead of with his fleet in the North Sea when the Hapsburgs proceeded with their chastisement of Servia; but when William II reached home all Germany was aflame over the great struggle between Teuton and Serb.

"The German Emperor towering head and shoulders over every other head in Europe, is regarded by the diplomats here to-night as being in the tightest place in his remarkable career, with Italy running away from the Triple Alliance and Austria seriously engaged with Servia. Emperor William stands surrounded. Russia is mobil-

izing on the one hand, France ready on the other, and Great Britain is threatening his navy and throwing a cordon of fighting ships around his seaports."

"Well may the Kaiser say as he said in his speech last night, 'A dark day has to-day broken over Germany.' Thus the Emperor stands to-night in the eyes of England a sort of Frederick the Great, beset on every side by enemies. And he is the great figure in the situation which has almost in the twinkling of an eye changed to place him in a position of great military disadvantage."

Berlin, August 2nd "An official statement to-day says 'In consequence of a Russian attack on German territory, Germany is in a state of war with Russia. The French reply to the German representative is of an unsatisfactory character. Moreover, France has mobilized and an outbreak with France must, therefore, be reckoned with, any day or any moment.'"

London, August 2nd "Numerous peace meetings are being held throughout England. It is urged on all sides that England halt Russia on penalty of withdrawing from the Triple Entente; that Russia has already in the past violated the understanding by its anti-British action in Persia and that civilization should be better with German than Russian supremacy in that section of Europe; that England must cast her lot with German civilization as against Russian barbarism. These protests are coming in from societies and prominent men and women in every walk of life."

St. Petersburg, August 2nd "The rupture of diplomatic relations between Russia and Germany took place under dramatic circumstances. It was midnight Friday when Count von Pourtales, the German ambassador to Russia, visited Foreign Minister Sazonoff and asked for an urgent interview. As soon as he was received, he informally called upon Russia to cease her mobilization within twelve hours. The allotted period passed without an answer. At 7:00 o'clock Saturday evening, Count Pourtales again called upon Minister Sazonoff and asked if Russia would cease mobilizing forces. To this the Russian statesman replied: 'Inasmuch as the Russian Government has not answered within the time you specified, it follows that Russia has declined to agree with your demands.' Three times Count von Pourtales repeated the German ultimatum and each time the Russian Foreign Minister met his statement with the same firm negative. Finally Count von Pourtales rose from his chair, bowed to the Foreign Minister and left the room without a word. He and the members of his staff at once departed from St. Petersburg by way of Finland."

London, August 3rd "British statesmen decline to state whether they regard the invasion of Belgium a cause for war."

London, August 5th "Britain declares war on Germany."

Washington, August 6th "Military experts here believe that Germany's only hope is in crossing Belgium."

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS

Mr. Norman Hapgood, editor of Harper's Weekly, in a dispatch to that paper, dated London, August 12th, 1914, expresses the following:

"Many who call this war the greatest calamity in history must trace it to the vast fighting machines which must be used quickly on account of the importance of the first blow. Some blame Germany and some Russia. Some fear one of these countries, and some the other. The cooler and more balanced minds say that if it had not been for the armaments and alliances, there would have been time for consultation, and the area of war would have been limited."

Bernard Shaw, Special cable from London:

"France, instead of using her surplus income in abolishing French slums and building up French children into strong men and women, has lent it to Russia to strengthen the most tyrannical government in Europe. And to secure interest on her loan she has gone into an unnatural alliance with Russia against her more civilized neighbors. We have no right to throw stones at France on this account for we made agreement with Russia of a still more sordidly commercial character for the exploitation of Persia with capital that should have fed our starved children. And now mark the consequences; Germany with hostile France on one side and hostile Russia on the other is in a position so dangerous that we here in our secure island can form no conception of its intolerable tension. By our blunders we have brought about the war. We have deliberately added to the strain by making a military and naval anti-German alliance with France, without at the same time balancing its effect. By assuring

Germany that if she kept the peace with France we would not help Russia against her, nor in the last resource allow Russia to advance her frontier westward."

"It is not to be wondered at that Germany with a chronic pride in its militarism raised to desperation by Russia, France and England, made a wild attempt to cut its way out after a despairing appeal to us to let it fight one to two instead of one to three. Let us be just to Germany."

"History will not excuse us because after making the war inevitable, we run around at the last moment begging everybody not to make a disturbance."

London Outlook:

"It must be contended that Servia has been receiving an amount of sympathy which is quite unwarranted by circumstances. The highly colored portrayals of her as a gallant little nation, fighting against odds, is all fudge. The Serb has shown treachery and cunning to friend and foe alike until they have alienated every ally except the great power (Russia) which may find it awkward to offer practical help."

Mr. Lowes Dickinson, Author and Lecturer—
Cambridge University:

"For what are these gamblers playing? Each says he is playing for safety. Each says the other is playing for power. We English believe we are resisting aggression. We may be sure the Germans do not believe it of us. We may be sure they do not believe they are aggressors. Behind all governments is a theory—the theory of the balance of power. Behind the theory are passions—the passions of fear

and cupidity. Behind these passions is the whole, long and tragic history of mankind. The rulers play on them like pipes. All men not blinded by theories know that the power to which governments sacrifice nations is an idol."

Detroit Daily News, July 31, 1914:—

"That a state of war exists over most of Europe was perfectly apparent before Germany issued her declaration."

Detroit News, August 3, 1914 (Leading article on first page):—

"Political moralists and sticklers for the rules of the game will be very severe of their criticism of the German Emperor for pouring his army into neutral territory. . . ."

"This is just as foolish as to condemn a man for shooting another when he believes his life to be in imminent danger. When a nation deems its life in danger it seldom says, "After you, my dear Alphonse." They did that sort of thing at Fontenoy, and found it very costly."

"One might find in the vicinity of Oyster Bay another leader who might have done the same thing if he thought his country might be in danger of being overrun by enemies on every border save one."

Springfield Republican:

"Europe is full of racial rivalries, suppressed imperial and national ambitions, religious hates, economic pressure, trade jealousies, internal strains and stresses and lines of cleavage which run across the frontiers."

London Labor Leader:

"It is monstrously unfair to thrust on the German leaders all the responsibility for the present conflict. It may be true that they held

a pistol to the head of Europe, but is there not some justification for a man whipping out a pistol when he is surrounded by armed enemies plotting his downfall? That has been the position of Germany. During the past ten years Great Britain, France and Russia have deliberately schemed to isolate and degrade Germany."

New York Sun:

"There is nothing reasonable in such a war as that for which Europe has been making ready, and it would be folly for this country to sacrifice itself to the frenzy of dynastic policies and a clash of ancient hatreds which is urging the Old World to destruction.

"Could anything be more rational than a refusal of the United States, the government and the banking and business community, acting together, to permit Europe to draw on this country for the expense of the mad courses on which it is about to embark? Should not the United States say to the world that if Europe is going to plunge into the abyss, the United States does not intend to go down with it?"

New York Evening Post:

"But for the obligation the Alliances have laid upon the contracting nations, no one would think it possible that the ignoble war upon Servia would plunge all Europe into strife. Talk about Dead Hand! The two alliances with their subsidiary ententes are laying the hand of death upon all Europe to-day; compelling rulers to do what they shrink from; launching navies and setting armies on the march; leaving the masses dazed as to what it is all about; and opening a prospect of ruin and woe fit to stagger humanity. They have called these

alliances the safety of Europe. Now we see them as they are, a peril and a curse."

Professor Herbert Sanborn—Vanderbilt University.

"It may be true that Germany desires commercial expansion (and certainly this is the cause of the arrayal of British arms against her) but this is necessary economic right, not a crime. She desires it, however, not in the interest of luxurious living, as of England, but for the sake of her higher civilization and culture; and there is no modern nation whose people as a whole are so thoroughly permeated with this spirit."

Ramsey MacDonald, Member of the British House of Commons:

"It is a diplomatists' war made by half a dozen men. Up to the moment ambassadors were withdrawn the people were at peace. They had no quarrel with each other. They bore each other no ill will. A dozen men brought Europe to the brink of a precipice, and Europe fell over it."

Lewiston, Maine, Journal:

"The war is all the fruit of a false national ambition and of imperialism and special privilege fighting against Christian Internationalism."

Philadelphia Public Ledger:

"The ultimate issue, stripped of all subordinate and vital hopes involved, is commerce."

Louisville Courier Journal:

"'Big Business' at its worst as an example of criminal brutality, lawless selfishness and an utter lack of consideration for the gull'd fools who the toils of war pursue where bleed the many to enrich the few."

New York Sun:

"What historian, in reviewing the evils that are blinding in their contemporary aspect, will ever be able to apportion justly the responsibility between the personal and dynastic war impulse in high places of power and the underlying and invisible forces of race hatred and national greed."

Detroit News, August 11th, 1914.

Special Cable dispatch:

London, August 11th, 1914—Robt. C. Long, former correspondent of the International News Service, stationed at St. Petersburg and Berlin, and one of the last men to leave Berlin, writes:—"Kaiser William did everything in his power for peace. Despite the protest of Von Moltke, he delayed the mobilization decree."

"The causes of the war apart from the traditional race hatred and remote historical grounds were two. Of neither of them was the Kaiser guilty. The first cause was the incredible folly of Count Berchtold, in refusing to negotiate with Russia direct. Bethmann Hollweg in his zeal for peace practically issued an ultimatum to Austria; otherwise Germany would desert her. Berchtold then climbed down and started direct negotiations with Russia. But it was too late. The mischief was done. Russia had mobilized her armies and compelled the Kaiser to mobilize the German army."

"In this war, beyond doubt, all blood guiltiness lies on two powers. On Austria for her undue harshness to Servia; on Russia for dishonesty in secretly mobilizing her armies, while the Kaiser was working for peace."

Detroit Free Press, August 1st, 1914 (Editorial):

"Germany will go to war with Russia because it is afraid of the ascendancy of Russia and dreads the rising star of the Slav. It feels that the struggle must come some time—the sooner the better.

"Germany will go to war with France because it is afraid to leave France in its rear with strength unimpaired. It knows that France has not forgotten nor forgiven the defeat and loss of the Franco-Prussian war.

"Great Britain will not go to war to help France, but it fears that a Teuton victory will leave Germany too strong for safety.

"Europe as a whole is plunged in the war because a long period of peace has permitted the development of a number of nations of almost equal fighting strength, who are fearful and jealous of one another."

Detroit Free Press, August 6th, 1914 (Editorial):

"So far as those primarily responsible for this war are concerned, it is a war without the shadow of excuse. It has been born of envy, hatred, greed, distrust and ambition.

"The whole origin of the affair is sordid and disgusting. The pretenses of justification made by the nations which precipitated it are so bald that a Mexican bandit would not consider them fit ground for a manifesto."

Detroit Times, July 29th, 1914 (Editorial):

"If Russia helps Servia, up goes Austria in smoke and a new power, the Servian-Balkan Empire, is born in Southeastern Europe. The Eastern half of Europe, from the frozen Arctic

to the tropical Mediterranean Sea, will then be held by cousins in race, brothers in religion, brothers in semi-civilization—the Russians and Serbs—both ambitious even to the conquering of the world.

“That is principally why Germany is getting out her fleets. Because, Austria out of the way, Germany would be next to be neatly carved up with the sword.

“If Russia helps Serbia as against Austria, Germany is expected to attack Russia. The next move of the checkers would be for France to hop on the back of Germany.

“If England plays the game according to treaty, she would put in her best licks against Austria and Germany.

“But will she?

“Does she want to see her hereditary enemy—Russia, build an invincible wall in eastern Europe? Does she want Russia to become the greatest power on earth? Does Lloyd George want Democracy put back a century in Europe by Russian-Serb domination?”

Detroit Times, August 11th, 1914 (Editorial Express):

“It is unfair, this inclination to put the blame for this terrible war on Germany.

“Germany is not blameless, but the blame must be shared by Russia, France and England.”

Detroit Journal, July 31st, 1914:

“And behind them all stirs the bloodthirsty restlessness of the Russians. Their Cossacks will fight as they ride down women in the street.

“Russia is the most war-like of the nations because she is the least enlightened; her rulers

are the least pacific because they have the smallest sense of responsibility."

The Outlook, August 8th, 1914:

Rev. Lyman Abbott, Editor,—Theodore Roosevelt Contributing Editor.

"Germany cannot permit Russia to attack Austria without flying to Austria's defense. In the first place, the German people are liberty-loving and have developed political freedom to a high state since the days of Bismarck. They look with distrust upon the despotic bureaucracy of Russia, and Russia with her enormous population and resources is always a possible enemy of Germany on the North. France threatens Germany on the South. On the west the commercial and political tension with England has almost reached the breaking point more than once during recent years. It is necessary, therefore, for Germany to preserve peace and intimate friendship with Austria. The Austrians are Germanic, and it may well be that German statesmen look forward to the time when German-Austria may become an integral part of the greater German Empire. It is entirely probable that the German Emperor sincerely desired to preserve peace in Europe, but he will not sacrifice either the future safety or the future expansion of his Empire to Russia or France for peace."

NOTE—The above editorials and comments are not offered as proving guilt, but rather to show that a very large number of thinking people—non-German at that—viewed with suspicion, all parties, engaged in the struggle. Thousands of such opinions could be submitted, if space permitted.

CHAPTER II

GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain (erroneously called England) played an important part not only in the prosecution of the World War, but also an equally important part in its staging.

(The United Kingdom is made up of the divisions known as England, Scotland and Wales; which with Ireland and self-governing dependencies make up the great British Empire. England, therefore, is not Great Britain; no more than Prussia is Germany. However, those who have read history aright must concede that England is the Prussia of the British Empire. The characteristics of the native Englishman as compared to the Scotchman, Welshman or Irishman is more like his Prussian cousin than he is like either of the three named; and is just as marked and as distinctive as the Prussian type differs from the German type as found in Germany outside of Prussia. The dominant Prussian and the dominant Englishman in many respects are more nearly like brothers than cousins. In the first place, they are alike in that each possesses to a marked degree, the dual nature of angel and beast. Each has in common the following characteristics: Inordinate pride, acquisitiveness, cruelty, self-sufficiency, overpowering egotism and the religious belief in their divine right to rule; and at the same time in combination with these traits is to be found abundantly at times fine ethical ideals, and the loftiest human impulses.

There are, however, two notable differences to

be found in the two divisions of this long separated tribe, the first difference we may note is in their taste as regards eating and drinking. This, however, may be due to climate, and does not in any way disprove their common origin. The second difference that may be observed is in the underlying principles by which they are governed. The Englishman adheres to the individual while the Prussian employs the collective system as a basis for his laws and regulations. In other words—individualism as opposed to state socialism.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the merits or demerits of these opposing principles of government, but it will surely not be amiss to point out that Great Britain (and later America) in endeavoring to accomplish what each claimed was the most vital and important task of all their history, namely winning the war, disregarded and threw overboard the individual theory and accepted and practiced collectivism in a very marked degree. In the case of free speech, and free assemblage, for example, they out-Prussianed the Prussian.

If the war was fought by the Allies to kill Prussian theories of government, then Germany is to a large extent a victor, for both in Britain and America individualism is now on a stretcher, while Prussian collectivism in its most irritating and obnoxious form is quite firmly in the saddle.

Some good after all may come out of this war in that an enlightened and modified form of social collectivism may be adopted in the place of individual license, and in place of that pernicious form of collective autocracy that exists in streaks in England and America to-day. Surely there is room for this when under our political

system a half a dozen men who control abundant capital may, without let or hindrance, close arbitrarily mammoth industrial plants, thereby throwing out of employment thousands, and thus ruining a whole country-side, basing their action on individual rights; or on the other hand, business of the whole country is often strangled by the walkout of a few thousand men engaged in a basic industry, such as railroading, claiming individual rights as opposed to national rights.

Up to the 5th day of August, 1914, the Englishman and his Prussian cousin had done pretty well considering their small and humble beginning; each having pushed his own way in the world, in a very noteworthy if not always a praiseworthy way.

It is indeed many hundred years since the great-great-grandfathers of the present inhabitants of England left their haunts in the forest beside the Elbe, the Weser, the Ems and in all likelihood the far off Vistula and assembled themselves together for the purpose of making their future homes on the little Island to the west of Europe's mainland.

We can see in imagination the startled native Britons watching the approach of that strange armada as the eastern breeze swept it towards the Kentish shore. What strange craft, what strange people, what strange dress. Fair of skin, blue of eyes, blonde hair falling in profusion on their shoulders, dressed in the skin of the wolf, the bear and ox, many with horns protruding from their foreheads. Little wonder the natives became panic-stricken, gave up their homes (at least temporarily) and fled to caves and forests, leaving the newcomers free to take possession of the rich lands bordering on the

bays and rivers adjacent to their landing place.

Thus began the wonderful history of that branch of the Teuton tribe that separated itself from the parent family for reasons we will never know, first occupying the lands now known as Kent and Essex, then, as time went on, the whole island and the adjoining one and to-day the sun never sets on their dominion.

Following the career and noting the achievements of the two branches of this wonderful family the impartial observer will be struck with the similarity of their methods of aggression, their marvelous powers for dominion, and their wonderful faculty of acquisition.

It is not strange that after a separation of nearly fifteen centuries the Englishman of to-day should show somewhat different characteristics to that of his present German cousin. They have lived vastly different lives. One settled down at home, tilled the land, etc., while the other chose an island home and became more or less a world rover. Even in the early days the rude sails of the Islander carried him far and without a great deal of effort. It was, therefore, inevitable that the changed mode of life of the two separated divisions of the Teuton family, would in time produce a marked divergency of character and custom. The Englishman became a man of the world at an early date, while those he left behind on the mainland, for the most part, remained for centuries little more than the denizens of a country-side.

A factor that never must be overlooked in determining the character of the Englishman, or at least those things which in early days determined his future character, was his mode of life for hundreds of years immediately following his landing on the shores of Briton. His

occupation of the new land was not a peaceful one—on the contrary it was one of the cruelest and most bloody of history. From the day the Teuton landed it was a veritable war of race extermination. It was, in the cruelest sense, a case of the survival of the fittest. No quarter was given. Even Rome had set the Teuton invader an example in moderation, which he did not heed. The Romans lived side by side with the Britons and taught them in art, agriculture and the Christian religion. When it became necessary for Rome to withdraw from the island, the native Britons witnessed their departure with evidence of sincere grief, coupled with prayer for their early return and protection.

There is a vast difference between a war of extermination, such as this, and a war of conquest. In the latter case, a few battles may be fought in which but a small percentage of the population of either side takes part, and in many instances the defeated peoples are often unaware of any perceptible change in their condition, and frequently it is only a question of the slight difference in task masters. A war of extermination means the wiping out of men, women and children, the cruelest and most beastly of all wars.

What manner of descendants, even to the fiftieth generation, might we expect from a race of men and women the hands of whose ancestors were almost daily, for centuries, steeped in innocent human blood?

Considering such ancestry, is it to be marveled at that cruelty and barbarism should at times become manifest in their offspring, as the race ebbs and flows, advancing, then again reverting to type; often to the worst features of the primitive type? This reversal to type in

the individual is of frequent occurrence, and is in evidence constantly, but a national reversal comes at more or less lengthy intervals, and a world reversal, such as witnessed during the period of the great war, is a human phenomenon never before witnessed; all races and peoples having been enmeshed in the coils of virulent and malignant, contagious reaction.

For several centuries the insular and continental divisions of the Teuton family were virtually separated and scarcely came in contact one with the other. Each was engrossed with his own separate and distinct problems. For a length of time England was engaged in a two-fold task—exterminating the natives and repelling the invasions of the inhabitants of the northern part of the island; also the adventurers from the mainland. During this time the continentals were engaged in inter-tribal wars, together with an occasional excursion of a more or less ambitious nature to the south, east and west. But each member was steadily, but in a different direction, coming toward both light and nationality.

It may indeed be truthfully stated, that no serious rivalry or political jealousy could be noted, to any great extent, between these peoples prior to 1871 when Germany humbled France, and as a result, a great continental nation came into being. Great Britain immediately sat up and took notice. From that day on the watchful eye of Britain was constantly on the new giant of the nations.

Well might she view with apprehension, if not alarm, the union or amalgamation of these virile kingdoms and states into one mighty whole. She saw, not a loose connection of alien provinces, each entering with mental or selfish

reservations, but she beheld a loyal union of twenty-five sovereign states—four kingdoms, seven principalities, six grand-duchies, five duchies, three free towns, not mentioning the wealthy provinces of Alsace-Lorraine all excepting the latter entering the Union imbued with a common spirit of nationality, a common language, an intensified community spirit, showing clearly to the world that the ambition of one was the ambition of all.

At last Germany became a nation. At last this great people had found themselves. And what did all this mean to startled Britain?

Here was a new united nation of forty-five millions of people, of Teuton blood, in many respects the salt of the earth, highly intelligent, educated, industrious, inventive, now fired with ambition, occupying a country possessing, next to America, the most wonderful natural and varied resources in all the world. Had not these same people, even when divided, made more or less of a successful bid for world trade? Now that they were united and under ambitious and skillful leadership, what naturally might be anticipated? And, has history not proven that these feelings of disquietude of the British were more real than imaginary? They saw clearly a real rival for world trade, a rival that had not only every element of initiative that they possessed, but also infinitely greater natural resources. This is indeed putting the case mildly. In addition to this, was not the horrible suspicion beginning to dawn on her for the first time, that Britain had reached the apex of her greatness, and that already national old age had set in with all the accompanying evidences of atrophy and decline?

There has been, as history attests, the inevita-

ble sad day that comes into the lives of nations as into the lives of individuals. A day surely comes to the reigning queen of beauty and fashion when she looks into the mirror and detects for the first time the wrinkle or the tell-tale gray hair, the sure precursor of evil days to come; or like the heretofore invincible athlete, with years of conquest to his credit, suddenly discovers a powerful rival looming on the horizon at a time when he himself, as well as his friends, detects flabbiness where once there was firmness, and growing weakness where once there was strength. And that day at last arrived for Britain; Britain the invincible, the mother of nations and the unchallenged arbiter of the world. And what was the evidence of atrophy, senility and decay?

Had Britain not already performed the functions of motherhood? She had performed this function by both parentage and adoption. Already her blood children had for the most part reached maturity and had embarked in independent business for themselves, without consulting the wishes or interests of the parent. One of her first born and the most promising of the progeny, by reason of arrogant and inhuman treatment administered prior to 1776, was not only cold and indifferent but even to a degree hostile, to the motherland.

Canada and Australia had reared tariff walls against the world, the British Isles included. They clearly gave the motherland notice that they did not consider that there should be either love or friendship in trade. They naturally preferred, as a first choice, to purchase their own products, and when that would not be expedient to trade where they could do so to the greatest advantage, regardless of family ties.

They condescended to offer to give the parent preference, provided she granted the same concession, but the acceptance of this proposition on the part of Britain would be suicidal and diametrically opposed to those trade principles which for many years were the foundation of her very economic existence. Such a proposition was in every sense impracticable, for the reason that Britain's commercial supremacy depended primarily on cheap material and cheap labor. To place a tariff on all but colonial imports would, without doubt, raise the cost of supplies to the British consumer and manufacturer. If it did not, what advantage would there be for the colonist? If, for instance, an import duty raised the price of wheat to the British consumer, the price of flour would rise, bread inevitably would become dearer, the cost of living would therefore advance, labor of necessity would demand and obtain higher living wages, these wages would increase the cost of the manufactured article, and this increased cost, owing to keen competition, would exclude Britain from many world markets, as some of these markets had been held on a 3 to 5% margin of profit.

Britain could not coerce her blood offspring into family trade relations, and the only thing left for her was to control as best she could, her adopted children, such as India; over whom she exercised complete authority. Even in this her hands were tied for the reason that in order to appear consistent she had to apply free trade principles with the result that she could claim no greater trade advantage than enjoyed under these circumstances, by her most hated competitor. In addition to this her treatment of these dependent possessions had to be both equitable

and enlightened, if she continued to profit by the salutary lesson that America taught her many years ago; a lesson that she took seriously, and as a result, colonists, such as Canada and Australia, her younger and smaller children, have been treated with kindness and consideration, a circumstance these lusty youngsters do not appreciate, or at least do not give proper credit to the source of their full and complete freedom of to-day.

No matter what theories are presented, sensible men will always keep their eyes on, and be guided by, concrete instances. And what were the concrete instances that were pressing themselves on the thoughtful Britisher at the particular time of which we speak; at the time when this huge Germanic competitive giant appeared on the horizon?

Who could fail to note the progressive flabbiness of fibre, that was everywhere in process, impairing, if not now threatening, the health, if not the life of the nation? A large percentage of the inhabitants were now little better than idlers living on incomes the source of which must be examined and analyzed, in order to appreciate the effect of certain forces on national life and character.

Britain at that particular time was suffering from a disease that at the present time is threatening the economic well-being of America. For centuries the manufacturers and merchants of Britain dominated the trade of the entire world. The inevitable result was that great trade balances were established in Britain's favor in nearly every country on the habitable globe—balances that represented clear profits. These balances in most cases were allowed to remain drawing high interest; Britain, there-

fore, was receiving tribute in the form of interest from the entire world. To a measurable extent, a large percentage of the British people were now living, not on their immediate earnings, but on their incomes, and these incomes derived from foreign sources, a large percentage of which had been established by the fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers of those enjoying such incomes. Had the British people as a whole, instead of individuals, been the recipients of these incomes from outside sources, the evil to that extent would have been mitigated; but who can measure the softening and deleterious effect that these incomes had on the life and character of a considerable section of the British people? It created and sustained an idle class, in fact a separate and distinct class, one that was not in the least dependent on other branches of society, unsympathetic, proud and selfish.

“They toiled not, neither did they spin,” and in full view of the struggling mass of their countrymen, they arrayed themselves in fine linen and lived sumptuously on the good things gathered from every land and every clime.

What would be the inevitable effect of this on the body politic? The school boy who had his first experience in athletics can answer. Seeing these idlers on every hand enjoying one continuous holiday, is it a wonder that the working class had become insistent in their demand for more holidays and shorter hours? Cut off by hostile tariff from her own children, her own natural resources on the wane, compelled by conditions to haul raw materials from the ends of the earth for her factories and furnaces and then haul back again in the finished product; a large percentage of her people, idlers and non-

producers and the balance demanding short hours and extra holidays, what position was she in when a great and formidable world competitor made his appearance? Surely the future was dark and threatening.

As the years went on the worst fears of the British were realized—competition became keener, market after market was either invaded or captured by her hated rival—even the home market had to be divided with the German.

All over Germany, almost over night, immediately after 1871 sprang up myriads of woolen and cotton mills, shipyards, chemical plants, and huge roaring blast furnaces which gradually silenced the great manufactories of Leeds, Glasgow, Birmingham and Manchester. In every section of the known globe, civilized and uncivilized, the Englishman was driven to desperation as he saw the fortunes of the commercial war going against him—a commercial war which all observers knew, owing to the character of the trade combatants, would end in a blood war—not a war between products—but ultimately between men.

This losing commercial war was distressing enough for the Islander, but the worst awakening was yet to come. Germany, owing to the increased importance of her foreign trade had decided on a powerful navy. If the British had spasms when they saw their trade going to another, they now had convulsions when they beheld the growth of the German navy.

England had for many years exclusive world monopoly of a navy. Her justification for this great, grim machine was that a powerful weapon, such as this, was necessary to protect her people at home and her trade abroad. This belief with her not only became a religion but a

fetish. No one in the world was ungenerous enough to deny Britain the security that these moving fortresses afforded when they were employed for the legitimate purpose of home and fireside protection. But there was a growing feeling in the minds of people possessing independent thought, that there did not exist on the top of this earth a country good enough, disinterested enough and just enough to be given exclusively the use of so great and far-reaching a weapon—a weapon capable of so much destruction and intimidation. It may be true that Britain used this great power benevolently and with moderation. But what self-respecting man or nation wants a club held over his head, that possibly might come down at any moment that the holder deemed necessary either for punishment, discipline or reproof? And who can say truthfully that the chief thought of Great Britain in navy expenditure was home protection? In her navy expenditures was not her eye singled on those craft that could be used abroad, while with less expenditure in purely coast defense equipment she could have found the necessary home protection?

Considering all circumstances, is it to be wondered that a proud, ambitious rival should seek to lay the foundation of a navy which should at least dispute the pretensions of Britain to the exclusive physical monopoly of the high seas?

Some may say that this act of Germany was not generous, but when had Germany been the beneficiary of Britain's overflowing good will and generosity? If there are such evidences, history is silent.

The possible exception to this may be found in the fact that in 1870, before the declaration of war on Prussia by France, Britain unanimously

sided with Prussia and applauded the resistance of the German people against the gross and insolent attitude of Napoleon III. In a measure, by this token of sympathy, the British people made up for the ignoble exhibition of temper that they showed toward the same people only fifteen years previously at the time Britain and France failed to draw Prussia into the Crimean War—a war that had for its object, the placing of Turkey in a secure position in European society. The Prussian King's refusal to be a party to this brought down on his head the vials of wrath of the British. He was odiously nicknamed by the British, and held up publicly as a weakling, having no decision of character—and a sensualist of the worst type; all of which history repudiates to-day. Of course, it is within the knowledge of all that there never has been love lost or sympathy wasted on either side, as the dominant Englishman and the dominant Prussian are too nearly alike for real or artificial sentimental outpourings.

It has been mentioned that Britain showed marked sympathy for Prussia at the opening of hostilities with France. But that sympathy was short lived; in fact, it began to wane when the first battles showed Prussia's remarkable fighting ability. Any sympathy that was left, disappeared completely when it became known that Germany had exacted the rewards of the victor and was emerging from the conflict a world power of the first magnitude.

For twenty-five years prior to 1914 Great Britain was frantically fighting to hold foreign trade; or busily engaged in building two ships to Germany's one. At frequent intervals, in order to relieve the immense drain on her resources, she made overtures to her rival, look-

ing to the curtailment of sea armament, but inasmuch as her propositions always left her in the firm possession of her ancient, if not time-honored club, Germany of necessity was compelled to decline such overtures.

As a result of all this a horrible war between these great powers was brewing and being fomented. Seeing that she was being rapidly relegated to the rear commercially, Britain proceeded to use subterranean means of a very doubtful nature to head off her rival. She began to encircle Germany with a cordon of alliances and "understandings." She capitalized French hatred for the German, Belgian distrust, and Russia's inordinate ambition. Germany was not blind to this menace. As a result of it she was compelled to double and triple her armament expenditures—causing a terrific strain on the financial resources of the country.

The powder was being rapidly piled up for the coming, inevitable explosion. The murder of the Austrian Crown Prince and Princess furnished the spark.

What peculiar emotions take possession of one's mind and soul as he views Britain's entry into the great war! It was but yesterday, with the exception of one province, that the empire was wrapped as if in a mantle of peace; without even a premonition of the passions that, a few hours at most, would be tearing every heart from its mooring. It was as if a summer's sea in an hour had been lashed by the fury of a typhoon. Fear, cupidity, revenge, hatred and super-patriotism took possession of the nation; blinded and infuriated, they cast themselves over a precipice into Europe's seething maelstrom.

Even six years after this debacle it is difficult to account for this spontaneous, national aberration. Under what law, psychological or sociological, may it be classified?

Seeking in vain for a solution, I overlooked a possible one that was at my very side. I found it in Dexter—Dexter my companion and friend. I will have you know, first of all, that Dexter is a dog; that by the way, is the worst thing and the best thing that may be said of him. To refer to a human being as a "man" means nothing. A man is an animal who walks on two legs (when he is sober) and makes known his wants by wagging his tongue. There are men and men and dogs and dogs. There are men made in the image and likeness of their Creator; whose heads tower above the clouds and who breathe the pure air of God's sunlit truth; and there are men who crawl on their bellies, snake-like, and wallow in the mire of sin, ignorance, superstition and crime.

We are told that the dog descended from the wolf, and man from the ape. If this is true, Dexter and I, his companion, had very much of an even start insofar as remote ancestry is concerned.

A philosophic personage once remarked, the more he saw of men the better he liked dogs. That statement would hold true, to a greater degree, the past six years than at any other period in the history of either man or dog. There are men, even those whose hands have recently been dipped in human blood, who will take exception to the claim that, in some respects at least, human beings have not reached the high plane in evolution that the average dog has attained.

It has been truly said that there is at least

hope for mankind when we remember that the dog descended from the wolf. Consider, if you will, the blood-curdling ferocity of the wolf either singly or in the pack, tearing each other limb from limb, either through hatred or by reason of hunger, and then contemplate their lineal descendant of to-day, Dexter, the protector of little children, a boon companion, and a faithful friend.

There are, in all likelihood, thousands and thousands of years of evolution between the cowardly, treacherous, ferocious, demon-eyed inhabitant of the wild and that gentle and lovable creature of to-day that goes bounding down the path to greet his master and give him a joyous welcome to home and fireside. Evolution, patiently but masterfully, has done its work; progress at least that has kept pace with man's advancement.

If evolution has performed such marvels for the dog, there is hope that it will do as much for man; that it will in time eliminate some of those attributes that mark him, too frequently indeed, as little removed from some of the beasts of the forests or reptiles of the jungle.

It is true, there are dogs that may and do retain some of the vicious characteristics of their ancestor, the wolf; but it is also true that the blood and brain and heart of a very large percentage of mankind, at times at least, is well under the influence and domination of the ancestral beast from which it is claimed they sprang. Look around you in any community, and behold manifest evidence of this.

Now, there are a number of dogs in the immediate neighborhood where Dexter lives, some of high and more of low degree. As a general thing he gets on with these very much as human

beings are wont to with their neighbors. He passes some with an air of disdain, with others he is on pleasant speaking terms, while others he receives and visits. But there is one dog just down the street that is an exception to all we have said—that is Pat. Pat is a brindle bull, with one good clear blue eye (the only good eye he possesses) and the other a sickly white, resembling a marble set in a hole. Pat has more scars to his credit than a Frenchman has war medals, and of them he has just as good reasons to be proud. Some of these he received in defense while others came while re-capturing his former possessions.

But just what there was about Pat that Dexter my Scotch collie friend did not like (and the dislike was mutual) we never could determine; for Pat on the whole was a good dog as dogs go. He scarcely ever attacked another of his kind without provocation; he kept watch over the children of his house-hold, and woe unto the stranger who would molest them. The baby in the carriage was as safe with Pat at its side as it would be on its fond mother's lap; but with all these endearing qualities Dexter hated him with all the hatred that even a human being in war is capable of. Dexter could be at your side peaceful as a June morning, his great big brown eyes radiating love and devotion, when suddenly he would spy Pat—like a shot out of a cannon, he would be off—and the fight would be on—and to a finish. When he would return it would be with down-cast eyes; ashamed of himself as a man the day following a fall from grace in the form of a protracted spree. He would say as best he could, "I do not understand what gets into me when I see that fellow—I forget everything and every-

body and I just feel that I want to tear him limb from limb."

As the Entente Allies entered the war, the world beheld the distressing spectacle of the English bulldog and the French poodle following the Russian wolf into the wilderness. Truly they harkened to the call of the wild.

All nations that entered the war (Belgium perhaps excepted), like Dexter—were conforming to one of the lowest as well as one of the oldest laws of nature—the law of reversal to type—civilization temporarily becoming barbaric.

Every nation that entered the war entered with a lie on its lips. Perhaps the most transparent lie of all and the one from which accrued the greatest sympathy and benefit for the falsifier, was that employed by Great Britain as a reason for her entering the world war; namely, to protect Belgian neutrality. This brazen distortion of the truth was accepted without question, not only by the majority of the British people, but by the unthinking masses in America as well.

Now that this lie has served its purpose and "civilization has been saved," let us examine some of the outstanding phases of this question.

Does anyone with an ounce of intellect, or possessing an atom of fairness, believe that Great Britain would not have been in the war, Belgium invaded or Belgium passed by? Has it not been the regret of England since 1870 that she did not at that time join hands with France against Germany (although for their own selfish purposes they gave all encouragement to the Prussians before hostilities began)? With France conquered and prostrate at Germany's feet, what advantage would Belgium be

to Britain as a buffer state? None whatever. Surely no one would claim for Britain that she sought the neutrality of Belgium for the good of that country—it was with an eye singled to her own protection. Knowing the history of Britain and her heartless and selfish treatment of small countries, we know that had it not been for the danger that it held for herself, for the future, Britain would not have risked a single ship, a single gun, or a single man to protect these people. Going to war to protect small nations and to maintain the sanctity of treaties sounds exalted; but what arrant hypocrisy on her part.* Look down the pages of history and observe the number of small nations that have been either swallowed, or pounded into insensibility by England, or, where that did not occur, she stood idly by while they were devoured by larger nations.

These instances are unnecessary here to rehearse, but it will be of interest to recall one as showing Britain's Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde performance when it comes to enforcing the sacredness of treaties.

Be it known to all that in the early fifties of last century, the great big pulsating heart of Britain went out to the Turk, as it in 1914 went out spontaneously to bleeding Belgium. This admission must be made in order to give credit where credit is due. Was it not by Brit-

*It is evident that Theodore Roosevelt did not share the belief that Britain entered the war, disinterestedly for the purpose of protecting little Belgium. In the "Outlook" of August 22nd, 1914, he remarks: "Belgium, however, was armed and went to war. If she succeeds in protecting herself, it will be because she had armed and not trusted to the treaty, and because she received aid from big military powers, who would have given it anyhow, as a matter of their own vital interest, as a matter of self-defense—not merely for the defense of Belgium, but for the defense of themselves."

ish effort that the Turk was given a safe place in the European family of nations, and was it not due to that same nation that Turkey was put in a position she could defy Europe, and as a consequence she was not afraid to commit those outrages from time to time that have shocked mankind?

In order to protect Turkey and at the same time curb ravenous and barbaric Russia (afterwards in 1914 Britain's loyal and faithful and honorable ally) she insisted, in the Crimean war settlement, that the Black Sea should be, so far as war vessels were concerned, neutralized. This neutrality was strictly observed until the year of the Franco-German war, when Russia boldly and bluntly gave notice that she intended to ignore this portion of the treaty—which she did. Britain was incensed and proceeded immediately to round up European nations to side with her in the enforcement of this treaty. She first approached Austria, but Austria declined—then Prussia was interviewed, but no encouragement was given—then she besought France with a like result. Had these powers listened to Britain at that time, there would have been a general European war. If war at that time was delayed, Britain is not to receive the credit. It must be observed, however, that she did not show any disposition to fight—alone—for the sanctity of a treaty. She waited patiently for a more favorable day, a day when she could be sure of the necessary assistance. Had Germany violated Belgian neutrality, and France and Russia remained neutral, may we not make a good guess how far Britain would have gone in the laudable enterprise of upholding the sanctity of this treaty?

The future British historian, no doubt, would

readily excuse his country for not trying to enforce the Belgian treaty as the brilliant apologist did regarding the Black Sea incident when he wrote "it would have been a piece of preposterous quixoty on the part of England to take on herself alone the responsibility of maintaining the sanctity of the treaty."

There are three things to be learned from that incident; first, Britain will not fight, no matter what principle is involved, unless the outcome is considered a foregone conclusion; second, that she would have been guilty of bringing on a general European war in 1870 on so trivial a thing as the enforcement of the neutrality of the Black Sea, had she succeeded in dragging other nations in with her; third, in 1914 she was willing to prostitute herself by making an alliance with Russia, a self-confessed violator of the sanctity of treaties, in war on another power that she deemed guilty of the same offense.

This, now celebrated, treaty, was first signed in the early part of the last century and revised and strengthened later. It will be remembered, the causes that led to its revision. Britain discovered that a deal was on between Prussia and France whereby under certain conditions, France would become the possessor of Belgium. Britain naturally stepped in and frustrated the deal. As both parties were caught red-handed, they were ready to sign any guarantee of Belgian neutrality. Accompanying the serious turn that this affair took, there remains the ludicrous side. In 1914 it became necessary to go to war to uphold this treaty. And what spectacle did we behold? We find loyally at Britain's side in this sacred cause, Russia, the arch violator of the Black Sea

treaty, and France, who in 1866 was not only a prospective violator but actually ready to annex that unfortunate little country; and in addition to these, her latest ally, pagan Japan, who, in conjunction with Great Britain herself, violated the neutrality of China, against China's solemn protest, by landing Japanese and British troops on Chinese soil to capture the German possession, Kiao-Chau.

Treaties of this kind are generally one-sided affairs, and are simply declarations governing future purposes and behavior. In this case, Prussia signed a certain engagement without a compensating equivalent. This in law would, of necessity, render the document worthless. She entered this engagement at that particular time to calm a distressed and excited neighbor. Had Prussia refused to sign, Britain certainly could not have gone to war to compel her to do so, as she could not have deemed her guilty of violating a treaty unless she had violated it. Germany was, perhaps, as much a sly knave in signing a document such as this, when she knew it would be repudiated should repudiation become necessary, as Britain was a fool to expect the engagement to be kept, no matter what circumstances might present themselves.

Theodore Roosevelt understood this when he made the following declaration, as printed in the "Outlook" in the fall of 1914: "When giants are engaged in a death struggle, as they reel to and fro, they are certain to trample on whomever gets in the way of the huge, stormy combatants. When before our eyes a score of treaties and of engagements of the most solemn kind are those literally not to be worth the paper they are written on, there is something both pathetic and ludicrous in the belief

that signing names to a bit of paper will of and by itself forward the cause of peace."

Practically the same view of this treaty was held by Mr. Gladstone, when, in the British House of Commons he said: "I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine of those who have held, in this house, what plainly amounts to the assertion that the simple fact of the existence of a guaranty is binding on all parties to it, irrespective, altogether, of the particular position in which it finds itself at the time in which the occasion for acting on the guaranty arises."

It is true that Germany may have had ulterior reasons for the invasion of Belgium—dark and diabolical—and thus breaking an obligation; but who can truthfully say that she did not have a parallel reason to act as she did, if we agree that a country's self-protection and safety is the first duty of its rulers—as self-preservation is the first supreme duty of society. I may, for instance, sign an agreement with my neighbor not to cross his property, or in any way trespass on it, but if I saw my house in flames and my family endangered, would I not only be justified in violating my agreement by crossing his property in order to make haste, but would be well within my moral rights in felling any person who would stand in my way?

All military authorities in Europe were agreed that, owing to a general preparedness, much depended on the swiftness of the first blow, when hostilities were inevitable. When the life of a nation is at stake, its rulers have on their shoulders a responsibility that transcends all other responsibilities. To split hairs on questions of honor or niceties, in such an emergency, would be as idiotic as for a man on the way to the hospital with a friend bleeding

to death, to delay reaching there, and give as an excuse that he did so in order not to violate the traffic speed law.

War is not a parlor affair, a Sunday school picnic or a fashion parade. War is hell from the start and hell to the finish, and no soil is sacred on hell's borders. You might just as well try to draw an arbitrary neutral line between paradise and purgatory, between sanity and insanity, or east and west, as to name the boundaries, the exits, or entrances for the arch-demon War.

Political policies are influenced, as they should be, by time, place and circumstances. No institution is permanent—all earthly things are in the course of change—transitory. Nations, like men, in their action, will always be guided by exigencies and circumstances—more especially when it is a question of life or death.

It is, of course, undoubtedly true that some nations observe the terms of treaties more religiously than others. It may even be true that Britain has more of a clean record than most countries, considering the magnitude of such undertakings. But it must be observed that a larger percentage of the British so-called treaties are not, strictly speaking, treaties at all—merely concessions—stipulating what the other party agrees to do. And it will be found in a large number of these cases that bullets have had a great deal to do with the acquiescence in these terms—lead bullets of the Marlborough, Roberts and Kitchener type; supplemented by the no less potent silver bullets of the Lloyd George variety.

When nations play for the favorable public opinion of the world (for public opinion is an asset as tangible as gold), and seek to prove the

guilt of their opponents and their own innocence, it is imperative, in the interest of justice, to know whether or not all parties are appearing in court with clean or unclean hands. With this in view, it would be unfair, in this inquiry, if we did not inquire, to some extent, into the antecedents of the nation that has made the violation of treaties her reason for entering the world war.

We do not have to go very far back into international criminal history to find the trail of the serpent leading to the nation which has been assuming the role of "protector" of small peoples, and the observer of international covenants.

A narration of the case of Egypt, fresh in the minds of everybody, will suffice to prove Britain's hypocrisy, without even referring to the fact that she guaranteed the independence of Persia, yet she, by a secret deal, allowed Russia to practically possess her. She also guaranteed the independence of Korea, yet she allowed her ally, Japan, to possess and enslave these unfortunate people. She sanctioned the division of Morocco between her friends, France and Spain.

Twenty-eight years ago, Britain, like the giant python, after duly covering its victim with slime, began the process of swallowing Egypt, and the last gulp was taken on December 18, 1914, and now Egypt is an undigested lump in Britain's belly. This fact must be brought clearly to the attention of all our people, particularly those who sided with Britain in the late struggle, believing that she was fighting for high international principles.

Britain began her real occupation of Egypt in 1892, and for what purpose? Ostensibly for putting down an insurrection, but really to col-

lect bonded and other indebtedness, much of which was purchased by her at a small fraction on the dollar. Promise after promise was made by Britain that she would withdraw from that country, but she kept complete control, and on December 18, 1914, as has been stated, removed the lawful Khedive and appointed one of her own choice, who would be a mere tool, and was maintained against the wishes of the people of Egypt, and by the power of Britain's military forces. The British Press acknowledged from that date that the flag of Britain floated over Egypt.

On Monday, August 25, 1919, the Honorable Joseph W. Folk, ex-Governor of Missouri, recently chief counsel for the Department of State, and ex-Counsel for the Interstate Commerce Commission, appeared before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and gave the following testimony: "Great Britain first entered Egypt on the pretext of protecting the Khedive against the rebels among his own people. She then continued to stay on the pretext of protecting the people against the tyranny of the Khedive. So at the beginning of the war England was occupying Egypt in that way.

"On December 18, 1914, Great Britain seized Egypt through the appointment of a Sultan by Great Britain, and now, contrary to the principles of the covenant of the League of Nations, and her previous promises, Great Britain asks that Egypt be turned over to Great Britain without the consent of the Egyptians, as a subject and conquered nation.

"Further: that the Egyptian Commission, now in Paris, is in virtual imprisonment. They are not allowed to send their representatives to the United States. Great Britain does not

seem anxious that the people of the United States should know the story of Egypt.

“Thus, by the seizure, Great Britain has added to her enormous acquisitions 350,000 square miles, much as rich as Illinois or Iowa, and 13,000,000 souls.”

This very modern instance, as above set forth, without going further, will show the cant and hypocrisy of Britain in her world heralded claims of entering the war as a defender of small nations and the upholder of the sanctity of international agreements. This fact, clearly understood and established, will do more to clear the atmosphere, so that world affairs may be seen in their true light and relation, than anything we may well conceive.

Why, then, did Britain go into the war? We have seen that we cannot take her word. Her reason, we have found to be false and hypocritical. Her record and the facts are against her.

We have to judge nations precisely as we would individuals. In the case of a man charged with murder, a motive must be shown. Britain, by some, is charged with a very grave offense. She is not charged with wantonly bringing on the war, but with criminally refusing to stay the hand that unleashed the dogs of war. Britain's crime was criminal passiveness, not criminal activeness. She wanted war, under certain conditions, and yet she did not want war. No doubt, she recoiled from the thought of war—that portion of her that was highly civilized recoiled from the horrible prospect—but at the same time circumstances impelled her to play two parts. Two spirits took possession of her; the spirit of light, and the spirit of darkness. Her better nature told her to stop the war at

all cost, and take European leadership until sanity would again be enthroned. The spirit of darkness said to her: "This is your opportunity—seize it." Instead of deciding she hesitated. To ease her conscience, she importuned Germany to stay the hand of Austria. Germany's reply came instantly: "See the Czar—I only move if he does." Britain knew in her heart, that Russia's mobilization was bringing Germany into the conflict, and that one sure way to ward off hostilities, was to persuade Russia to cease mobilizing—to cease mobilizing even at the peril of losing Britain as an ally. This she did not do. She pleaded with the leader of the Triple Alliance, her enemy, but failed to use all means in her power to check Russia—her erstwhile friend. Does anyone dare state that Russia would have gone to war without the implied assistance of France and Britain; much less imagine France would have entered the war without a tacit British understanding or the assurance of a firm Russian understanding?

What was it that Britain asked Germany to do? Was it not to curb her dependable ally, Austria, while that ally was in a state of national high temper, beginning as she was, to punish Serbia for the atrocious killing of her Prince and Princess. Austria was justly and naturally enraged. She wanted satisfaction of a very practical and very human kind. Germany replied in substance: "My friend Austria is aggrieved, she is righteously indignant. She is temporarily in high temper. I believe, for her own good, Serbia should be chastised, therefore, tell your friend Russia to lay down her arms—she has not been hurt, she has not been insulted or angered, her national honor has not, as yet, been violated." If Britain took this ad-

vice and acted accordingly on it, we have no record of it.

Now, presuming Germany had coerced Austria, no doubt the great war would have been, at least temporarily averted—how long no one can tell. In that she would have alienated the only country she could reasonably depend upon, in the future, in case of a life and death struggle, with Russia and France combined. Austria's good will and support was absolutely indispensable to Germany, owing to her critical, isolated location. Had Britain coerced Russia, and Russia became estranged thereby, this loss would not have been so vital to Britain as the loss of Austria to Germany, for England was still safe, without an ally, behind her moving walls of iron and steel.

Thousands in Britain at the critical time saw the danger. They pleaded with the British Government to curb Russia as the only logical thing to do under the circumstances, but they were not heeded. This was vital. Bearing on this point of view, the representative of the Associated Press in London, cabled the Los Angeles Times and other American newspapers the following important summary, dated London, August 1st, 1914: "The feature of the war situation here to-day is the growing intensity of the debate, whether Britain should or should not take part in the threatened European slaughter. Those desiring peace are concentrating a strong fire on Premier Asquith and Sir Edward Grey; demand that Russia be commanded to halt on the penalty of Britain's repudiation of the Triple Entente. Their argument first is: that Britain is not only free as regards legal obligations but is free on the point of honor, hence the right to hold aloof from any war that it does not

sanction; secondly: that Russia has already violated the entente by its anti-British proceedings in Persia and elsewhere in central Asia; thirdly: that civilization would be better off with Germany dominating the continent than Russia in the dominant position.

“A solemn warning is sounded against the colossal mass of Slavic ignorance and barbarism that is sweeping over Europe, as barbarians swept over it at the time of the great migrations. They declare that the Slavic race in its whole existence has not produced more than a dozen first rate men, and that Britain must not co-operate with such a power in assailing the beneficent civilization of the Germanic peoples. These views are supported by letters and telegrams from individuals and societies, and by personal appeals by some of the ablest and most noted men in the United Kingdom.”

The British Ministry did not take this advice, but spent their precious time in sending notes to Germany until Russia, Germany and France had drifted into war, and were already at each others' throats. Britain, mysteriously, was held back from checking Russia, as if by the unseen hand of her darkest past.

On August 5th, Great Britain, after seeing Russia, France and Belgium at war on her great rival, decided that her time for striking had at last arrived.

As the Los Angeles Daily Times of August 2nd significantly stated, editorially, “If it continues to look like England's opportunity, there will be a noise like the crack of doom over there.” And was not this Britain's opportunity? Was there anything more to be desired? There was her hated rival—the rival that was rapidly relegating her to the rear, commercially,

now surrounded by enemies—180,000,000 Russians on her eastern border and 40,000,000 revengeful French on her western border, all bent on dismembering and dismantling Germany. Could not Britain, according to accepted views, at that time, play a safe and sure game? Of the belligerents, was she not the most enviable of all? Her people were safe from attack. The great battles would be fought on soil other than her own. Her fleet, long in idleness, could now sweep the seven seas clean of the enemy. She knew Germany had only a nominal and normal supply of food, and this would only last a given length of time, and then starvation—a heretofore useful ally—would help finish the undertaking.

Her four allies, Russia, France, Belgium and Starvation, were thought sufficient to overwhelm Germany without her furnishing much of her manpower.

Immediately, Great Britain announced her war aims, the complete physical victory over her enemy. This announcement adhered to, made it impossible for Germany, at any time in the future, to compromise. There was nothing left but abject surrender or fight to a finish. Germany had to make her arrangements accordingly. Now what did the fulfillment of these war aims mean to Britain? It would mean a crippled commercial rival. It would mean the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, taking from Germany the coal and iron—which had been the basis of her competitive industry. It would mean the capture of the German fleet—dead or alive—either at the bottom of the sea or floating gracefully into a British harbor, a British prize, her share of the prospective war loot. It meant not only that Germany would

be crushed, but in the crushing process, Russia would be more or less dismantled as a result of her collision with Germany, and India, therefore, would be safe for at least another generation. In other words—she would by this process get rid of two rivals at one and the same time. And what of the German colonies? Nothing, then, about these was mentioned but the British lion, with a far-off look in his eyes, was licking contemplatively his immense chops.

If, in passing a house you discovered a man crawling through a window, and you questioned him regarding his intentions, and he told you that he was going in to protect a child from an attack—you may well pass on with your suspicions dispelled, but if on your return you find him emerging from a wrecked neighborhood, the owners put to flight, and found this man and his friends collecting everything of value in sight, you naturally would feel that you were deceived.

If we had any doubts of the good intentions of the Triple Entente when the war began, what must we now think after reviewing the terms of the Peace Treaty, which has been presented for the scrutiny of a startled world?

It is said that every man has his price. This price may be money or honor, or even safety. Britain's "price" in entering the war may not have been either indemnity or territory, but it certainly was a crushed rival, and the German Fleet "dead or alive." These were the two things that Britain wanted, and her allies were welcome to all the rest (perhaps with the exception of the German colonies). Britain got these things, but at what cost! Hundreds of thousands of her young manhood are buried in a foreign soil; the maimed and diseased are

shuffling up and down every highway and by-way, where the British flag floats, around the world; a crushing debt lies on every household in the land; her foreign credits are nearly all wiped out; now a debtor, no longer a creditor nation; her people discontented at home and discredited abroad; herself one of the most appalling victims of "Peace by complete physical victory."

Had Britain's leaders in August, 1914, seen one-tenth of the picture of the desolation of the world to-day, instead of wasting their efforts with the German Emperor, they would have torn themselves from the Russian alliance as they would from the claws of a tiger, the fangs of a serpent, or the embrace of a leper.

CHAPTER III

FRANCE

Little did Spain think when she offered the Spanish Crown to Leopold, a German Prince, that she was unwittingly sowing the seed from which would grow a great European war, and out of the settlement of that war, the greatest war of all history.

The source of a mighty river may be found in the side of a mountain, thousands of miles away. The beautiful city of Chicago, built as it is on modern lines, was made possible by a cow kicking over a kerosene lamp fifty years ago.

The germs of this great war were injected into the veins of the body politic of Europe in 1870, when Spain offered the crown of Isabella to Leopold of Hohenzollern. That offer was the direct cause of the Franco-German war; and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany, as embodied in the Peace settlement of that war, contributed as nothing else did to the war just closed.

Napoleon III of France had long looked for a pretext for war. His rule was acknowledged to be burdensome, prosaic and commonplace. There was nothing in it to appeal to the imagination of his temperamental and volatile countrymen. He had been frustrated in his attempts to annex Belgium. He saw Prussia adding to her provinces. His dream was the annexation of all the beautiful western Rhine lands. As he grew desperate, he became correspondingly bolder and more daring. He was urged on by his Ministers, and by his festering servile court. The psychological moment had

arrived, and the pretext, events had furnished.

When the Crown of Spain was offered to Leopold,* the French Emperor immediately objected, and announced that he never would acquiesce in any such extension of Germany's prestige and power. The King of Prussia in deference to this protest, advised Leopold to refuse the proffered crown, which he immediately did. [This ready compliance, on the part of William, was not sufficient for the haughty French Monarch and his advisers. They demanded that not only Germany should forbid one of her princes to take the crown, now, but should also agree that they would not do so in the future. A further demand was made that King William write Napoleon a letter of apology for having even contemplated allowing a German prince to accept the Spanish succession. In twenty-four hours Prussia was ablaze with indignation, and the French Ambassador was practically ordered to leave Berlin. France replied by declaring war. As every school child knows, the fortunes of this war were Germany's. Had France won, the eastern frontier of that country would have been the Rhine. France's greatest apologist will admit that. For a number of years prior to 1870, France unmistakably showed desires for the west bank of the Rhine. At the Congress of Paris, held in 1856, Britain was compelled to curb France in that regard. When France's proposition came up before the Congress, Lord Clarendon, the British representative, replied: "That means plainly the Rhine border for France and the

*Prince Leopold was more nearly related to the Bonapartes than to the Hohenzollerns. His father was son of the French Princess, Marie Antoinette, a niece of Murat, King of Naples. His mother was the Princess Josephine, a daughter of the Princess Stephanie, sister of Hortense De Beauharnais.

transmutation of the German Confederacy." France withdrew her proposition and waited for a more favorable opportunity. That opportunity came in 1870 and then she played for this big stake—and lost. Instead of gaining beautiful western Rhineland, she lost Alsace-Lorraine. "She went after wool and came back shorn." In this she has not shown the saving grace of even the gambler.

Among gamblers the "squealer" is considered the most despicable of all creatures; he plays the game as the game is played—he loses and forthwith he rushes out, calls the police, seeks the sympathy of his neighbors, and lies awake nights conjuring how he can "get even." He makes up his mind that on the first opportunity he will recover his loss by force. So he waits until he can get two or three sympathizers, and at the first opportunity the enemy is waylaid and after a disastrous fight, the lost treasure is regained.

To regain these lost provinces, France stood ready to unite forces with any European despot or despots. Their quarrel, no matter how despicable, was her quarrel, provided her quarrel would be made their quarrel.

The day previous to the appearance on the horizon of the European war cloud in 1914, had any inhabitant of France, from school boy to president, been asked to name that which he desired above all things barring the saving of his own soul, he would have promptly answered: "Alsace-Lorraine avenged." There can be no two opinions regarding this.

Now, when the war broke out and each country was trying to clear its skirts of the guilt of contributing to the starting of the war, and when France was successfully playing the "in-

nocent and injured" part, was it not the duty of the neutral world to come out boldly and ask her this pertinent question: "France, you have in season and out of season, by day and by night for forty years, promised to avenge Alsace-Lorraine and wrest these lost provinces from Germany. Then, when did you expect to do this? Was it not when you felt strong enough of your own strength, or, when you would receive the assurances that other strength added to your own would make the effort a success? That being so, have you not concluded that now is the time, and have you not welcomed and made your plans accordingly?"

If France was ever going to make good her oft expressed intentions, surely the day to act had arrived. Was it not but a few years ago that she felt almost equal to the task herself? Now, with the assistance of 180 million Russians, who would batter her enemy on the east, and the might and power of the British navy, what more could be desired? With all these things in her favor and to her supreme liking, with hatred and revenge in her heart, can she expect us to believe that she at the time was a force for peace? On the contrary, was she not one of the outstanding factors which made war not only possible but certain? In conformity with this, is it any wonder we find her suppressing peace demonstrations, even before Germany mobilized? Are there any records to show that she sought sincerely to stay the hand of Russia? Are there any records to show that she sought to join Britain in bringing pressure to bear on Russia? There are no such records.

The terrible thing in this whole connection was the fact that for forty years, by reason of her national and undying hatred for Germany,

France could be used at any time to support the subterranean machinations of Britain or the lustful ambitions of Russia, provided these were directed against Germany. Either of these countries separately or in combination, always knew they had the support of France in any reprisals, right or wrong, directed against Germany. This knowledge distressed many a lover of peace throughout the world.

Some foolish people, even to-day, ask why it was necessary for Germany to attack France when her quarrel originally began with Russia. Had Germany turned her face to the east to lock arms with the Russian bear, France would have been on her back like a tiger. For days before hostilities broke out, France was crouched on her haunches, her eyes ablaze, ready to spring on the back of Germany.

A few weeks before the European war cloud appeared in 1914, Professor Albert Leon Guirard, a brilliant French writer, contributed a very sympathetic and luminous article entitled "French Revenge," which was published in the "Contemporary Review." This extract from the article will prove very enlightening:

"Under the influences, the conception of a *revanche* arose immediately—spontaneously. It remained for many years the cardinal principle of French National life—the thought unuttered, but ever present, according to the dictum of Gambetta: 'Let us think of IT always and never speak of *it*.' Even Victor Hugo, the prophet of peace and universal Republic had to confess: 'Another war, alas!! Yet it is necessary'; and all of the leaders of French thought, perhaps Renan alone was strong enough to breast the tide of popular passion. But *la revanche* had to be postponed; the country had to recuperate, a

permanent government had to be established, and the army must be reorganized.”

“The Entente Cordiale with England left our treasure of suspicion and hatred undivided. The conflict with Germany became intense and broader. To the eternal Alsace-Lorraine question was added colonial rivalry, and all the fears and grievances of our new friends across the Channel.”

“What about the future? War is not impossible. The sudden and formidable revival of Chauvinistic passion in a Republic, which seems to be torn by religious and social problems, cannot be ignored. For the first time, perhaps, since 1870, France has faced the probability of war almost cheerfully. Germany knows this; it is one of the reasons for her immense armament. If war were to break out, of course the odds would be against France, but the result would be by no means certain. War, in all probability, would mean a conflict between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance—a possibility which makes one shudder.”

The above extract is worth reading twice. Here is a Frenchman who loves his country devotedly, and deprecates the spirit of revenge that he finds rampant throughout France—knowing where it will eventually lead the nation; pointing out in plain words the evil effect of the British understanding with his countrymen, and at the same time sharing to some extent the belief shared by Frenchmen that in a single-handed combat with Germany the outcome would be doubtful.

It is evident that that if Frenchmen had doubts about the outcome of a war between France and Germany, then surely there could be no doubt in their mind, if they had Russia

and Britain on their side. And it must not be overlooked, that this French writer gives an excellent reason why Germany was forced to increase her armament; a reason that should be carefully noted by those who are constantly condemning Germany for having thoroughly armed.

France, now, is again in possession of the provinces which she lost through her own arrogance and indiscretion in 1871. She obtained this result by reason of the assistance given her by Russia, Britain and America. The return of these provinces was made one of the principal war aims of the allies. The demand for the return of these provinces was contested to the last by Germany.

The question of the return of Alsace-Lorraine proved a stumbling block to early peace and no doubt delayed peace many months.

France again has her provinces. The gambler's losses have been returned. Thousands of Americans, not counting the millions of the unfortunates of other countries, are sleeping in French soil to-day as a result of being dragged from their homes by false leaders for the purpose of undoing the diabolical work of Napoleon III and his mad ministers.

It is indeed sad to see the young manhood of the world slain in the most just cause, let alone such a one as this; but it is even more distressing to know that out of this fiery hell the nations of the world have not come out purged and purified as we all firmly hoped, but on the contrary, revenge, hatred, greed and cupidity are the four cornerstones upon which the victors are building the future peace of mankind.

CHAPTER IV

RUSSIA

We shall have little to say about Russia. The bones of her last Czar are now bleaching on the Siberian plains; a fit resting place, among the countless thousands of his victims. Old Russia has forever passed away. New Russia has been born—born in a home of starvation, desolation and ruin. Out of this cradle may yet come the hope of mankind—who can tell? We have heard a new strange voice—the voice of an infant—but it has been heard around the world. To some, it is the angel whisper of hope, a rift in the clouds, a voice announcing the rising sun for the enslaved and benighted peoples of the world.

Cruel monarchies and more or less enlightened republics have joined hands to crush out the life of this new born child, but in this they have been as impotent and as helpless as chaff before a hurricane.

If Russia has a divine message for this torn and bleeding world, that means peace where we have war, plenty where we have want, freedom where we have slavery, hope where we have despair, then all the armies of the nations and all the gold in the world's vaults, and all the lies of Ananias multiplied a million times by a depraved and viper press, will be as helpless and impotent to stay its onward march as the murderers of Christ were two thousand years ago.

In this great war all governments, whether despotic, limited monarchies or republics, sac-

rificed and betrayed their peoples. If new born Russia holds for the future the germs of a true democracy—a democracy that will represent the heart and conscience of mankind, instead of the will of a few rulers, or leaders, God speed her on her way.

CHAPTER V

UNITED STATES

On Tuesday, August 19th, 1919, President Wilson graciously consented to receive a select committee of the United States Senate, for the purpose of explaining and interpreting the Peace Treaty, which he had recently signed in Paris, in the name of the American people.

Perhaps one of the most enlightening admissions the President made on that occasion, and which seems as yet generally unknown to the world, was his admission regarding the reasons for America's entering the war. People generally assume that America went into war on account of the acts of injustice committed by Germany against the citizens of the United States, in the sinking of the "Lusitania," etc., etc. We have found that this was all an error. These were not the reasons at all, as will be found from the following statement:

Senator McCumber: Do you think if Germany had committed no act of war or no act of injustice against our citizens, would we have gotten into the war?

President Wilson: I think so.

Senator McCumber: Do you think we would have gotten in anyway?

President Wilson: I do.

At last the mask has fallen from the face of America, or at least from the face of President Wilson, and now we are able to see a little clearer and a little further.

It is evident then that the American people held the opinion that they went into the war on account of the so-called acts of injustice perpetrated by Germany, and President Wilson went into the war for reasons of his own, which reasons have not yet been fully determined or publicly revealed.

Now, no matter what these reasons were, whether good or bad, there is no question that the verdict of the future will record two of the most tragic and far-reaching blunders in the annals of statesmanship, namely:

(1) The mistake of the United States in taking a partisan side instead of remaining an arbiter and a judge between the warring factions of Europe.

(2) When America did decide to go into the war, on the side of the Entente Allies, that she did not exact from her associates a hard and fast agreement covering the terms of future peace; but left it until the day when Germany lay prostrate at her enemies' feet, at which time America would be of no future use to the Allies, and would not be in a position to exact peace terms that would be healing in their nature, and would form a basis for future permanent world peace.

Immediately, on the breaking out of hostilities in Europe, the United States declared her official neutrality. This, indeed, was the only sort of neutrality that could be expected, considering the racial complexion of America.

It is safe to say that in America there were at least five families in whose veins flowed British, French, Belgian or Russian blood to one of German or Austrian blood—and blood is naturally thicker than water.

British capital controlled, directly or indi-

rectly, a large volume of American business. The press to a certain extent was influenced by British capital, or, at least, controlled by the interests which had direct or indirect connection with Lombard Street. It became evident, at the outset of the war, that Europe would be compelled to call on America for billions of dollars worth of the products of farm and factory. It was realized full well that owing to the British fleet, little of this would reach Germany—practically all would go to the Entente Allies. Big business, such as this, is controlled by big business men, and big business men have not in the past overlooked the power of the press, and in the year of our Lord 1914, “big business” controlled very generally the press of the United States—as, unfortunately for the people, they do to-day.

Under these conditions, as might be expected, propaganda was soon set in motion to create a sentiment in favor of the Allies and to discredit Germany. Those papers that had given their views freely, the first week or ten days after the war began, laying the blame on all the nations involved, within thirty days changed their attitude and began decrying Germany and lauding the “high and honorable war aims” of the Entente. Billions of dollars, in long-term credits, must be given to Britain, France and Russia, and nothing must be done to discredit these debtors, or make their financial position insecure.

The ground was ready for the seeds of such propaganda. As has been stated, eighty per cent of America by blood was Entente. For several years prior to 1914, there were unmistakable evidences of a rapprochement between America and Britain—evidences that time had

nearly healed old sores, and past animosities were being forgotten. In addition to this, it must be admitted that, generally speaking, the German was not liked in this country. He was "unpopular." All agreed that he was honest, industrious, progressive—a good citizen generally; but he was not accepted whole-heartedly or with warmth by his fellow citizens.

The people generally did not like his pleasures, his tastes, his accent, or even his appearance; and to the ignorant portion of the population he was "the Dutchman." He was not in favor with either the politician or the charlatan. He did not respond readily to the wiles and machinations of the one or the blandishments and artifices of the other.

All this antipathy was difficult to trace to its source. It was certainly prejudice—ill-founded. It may have been that there was a feeling of resentment due to the fact that the German possessed more painstaking, technical knowledge of everyday affairs than his neighbors; and that at times he may have shown contempt for prevailing ignorance; or that if for instance a farmer, he set too high a standard of cleanliness, tidiness and order for some of his shiftless, haphazard and lazy neighbors.

Considering the natural antipathy entertained for the Germans and the returning good feeling for Britain and the overwhelming numbers directly or indirectly connected with the lands of the Entente, it can easily be seen what fertile field the propagandist had at his disposal; and by reason of this one-sided condition, the German in America was placed in a very unenviable position. He would have been less than human had he not protested against the heartless and soulless propaganda that was placing him on

the defensive; and misrepresenting, in many respects and to a great degree, his beloved fatherland.

When these people protested against what they honestly believed to be an injustice, they were reminded by many that the German was in America by sufferance; implying that he had not the same right to be here as the others, and that if he did not like conditions, "Why did he not go back to Germany?"

It might be advisable, at this point, to examine the question why any people (other than Indians), are here. It is, indeed, arrant assumption, to take for granted that this great virgin continent was made and held by the Almighty for any particular race or people. It is a question even now, whether Europeans have not a great sin to answer for, in robbing the Indian of his birthright—and wiping God's creation from the face of America. No matter what view we take of that question, there are no two opinions regarding the fact that the present inhabitants are usurpers, and so far as title is concerned, they have none—or at least no title that is founded on other than might.

The German in coming to America naturally and rightly assumed that he had the same rights here as the Briton, Frenchman, Canadian or any other man. It was no love for America that brought him here, any more than it was love that brought any other outsider. He came to better his conditions. He came for the same reason that one million Canadians came here and for the same reason that a quarter of a million Americans went to Canada. Surely no intelligent American will contend that Canadians settled here in order to live under a government permitting greater freedom or one that would

afford them more protection and better safeguards than those under which they lived. The American who religiously believes that his liberties were and are perpetuated alone by his wonderful written Constitution, will have quite an awakening by a thirty days' sojourn in *Canada, where it will be manifest to him that under a different Constitution the Canadians enjoy all the blessings of liberty that his country enjoys. It may perhaps filter into his consciousness that Constitutions have very little to do with liberty, and that after all that which in these days has become to most Americans a fetish—that is, the Constitution of the United States—has had no more to do with American liberty and American progress than the label on a bottle has to do with the virtue of the ingredients that it contains. In fact, like the label, it may have something to do only with the directions of the contents—nothing more—nothing less. It is the people who make the Constitution and preserve the Constitution—

*Although Canada possesses one of the most liberal governments in the world, yet her position cannot afford complete satisfaction to her people. Her situation is that of a son who enjoys the full use of a farm while the titled remained in the father. Rightly he is not taken as seriously by his neighbors as if he were the real owner. He is often compelled to take a "back seat" in the presence of real owners and where principals only are recognized. Complete ownership tends to produce a spirit of true independence and responsibility.

Real and complete independence would do much for Canada. It would place the Canadian people in a position to make advantageous trade and other relations on their merits without regard for that sentimental loyalty for England which they deem necessary as part of their daily life—that loyalty which the late Goldwin Smith describes as "That sentiment which increases in intensity the farther removed from old London."

With full independence, Canada would no longer be the sentimental "cub" and feel that it would be at all times her duty to follow her marauding mother into the jungle.

Insofar as the United States is concerned, it might be of more advantage for Canada to remain as she is—semi-independent, as in that case she would remain, to all intents and purposes a "hostage" for Britain's future good behavior.

not the Constitution that makes and preserves the people. Had the American people, in the beginning, simply adopted the Golden Rule as their Constitution, and aimed to be guided as a nation, as states, and as individuals by that principle, there is no question that progress would have been as marked, and liberty as abundant, as it is to-day. Does any man think that if the people of Mexico were given the American Constitution that they would be one whit better off? Their condition would be no more improved than to present a blacksmith with a medical diploma, which he had not earned.

The German came to this country for precisely the same reasons that the Canadian came here, or the American went to northwestern Canada. It was not "liberty" that he was after—it was opportunity—opportunity that comes as a result of natural conditions—conditions dependent upon the gift of Providence and not on written Constitutions. He felt he could produce more on fifty acres of rich, virgin American soil, than on five acres of overworked German soil. It is true that he left to avoid the bane of Germany—militarism. That was an institution that he naturally wished to avoid for his children. Although this was true, all intelligent Germans refused to blame their rulers for that condition, for the simple reason that most Germans felt the necessity of extreme military preparation against a repetition of invasions that so often in the past had almost ruined their country. They granted that it was necessary to her safety and her existence. There are some non-thinking people who will not agree with that statement. In order to appreciate Germany's position (and we are speaking of Germany prior

to 1914) let us put ourselves in that country's position. Assume that all the Germans should vacate their country and 70,000,000 free-born, peace-loving, intelligent, prosperous American citizens, together with their divine Constitution and all their most cherished institutions, should take possession of Germany, and the 70,000,000 Germans, with their Kaiser and their laws, should take possession of the United States. Now, this would be a test of institutions. It will be very interesting to know what would happen as a result of this experiment. In the first place the Americans would have as a new eastern neighbor, instead of the protecting Atlantic Ocean, a haughty, ambitious, uncompromising despot, controlling 200,000,000 half barbarians, who had heretofore been kept in check at the mouth of the cannon and at the point of the bayonet. On her west she would have 40,000,000 of armed, and land-hungry people. We will not even mention her danger on the south. Considering this situation how long before these 70,000,000 Americans now occupying Germany would come to the conclusion that every man must carry a musket? Not long indeed! And does anyone imagine for a moment that the lot of the average citizen would be even as desirable as that of his German predecessors? The extravagant and slipshod methods of conducting business that often mark the American at home, if continued on German soil, would in all likelihood bring disaster—Constitution or no Constitution.

But what of the 70,000,000 of Germans in America, even with the Kaiser at their head? With all the national advantages and opportunities here would they not become a really great commercial nation, as they aimed to be in Ger-

many? And what about militarism? With little Canada on their north and impotent Mexico on their south, how long do you imagine it would be before their big defensive army would fade away into civilian life?

We must always remember that circumstances alter cases; and that often credit is given where credit is not due; and condemnation is founded frequently on ignorance and prejudice, instead of justice based on facts.

As time passed and the war progressed, the position of the Germans in America became more difficult and, to a greater degree, unbearable. They were cut off from their fatherland, which held within its borders, in many instances, their own flesh and blood. They saw that America, through propaganda, was forced to view the great war struggle through British spectacles. They naturally became exasperated when they beheld American factories running night and day to supply the Entente with war material that was destined to blow into eternity those that were near and dear to them. They felt that America's claim to neutrality was both hypocritical and un-Christian. America and Germany were as yet at peace. They were friends. There is, of course, no question in the mind of any honest man regarding the depravity of one who, for gold, would pass a dagger to one of two friends who were engaged in a death struggle; and justify himself by claiming that he gave them an equal chance for its possession, when he knew full well that one of them was in such a physical position in the struggle that he could not reach the dagger—and where a full knowledge existed in advance of whose heart it would be driven into. A nation is equally depraved and cannot be called Christian that allows its

citizens to wax rich from a traffic which means death and destruction to those with whom she is at peace.

When the Germans in America witnessed this one-sided procedure, when they saw the press, as time went on, more and more distorting and misrepresenting the German nation, and upholding in every particular the aims and claims of her enemies, we to-day, on looking back, are amazed at the extreme moderation of these people, during the heart and soul-trying days of 1914, and after.

The propagandist found nothing so potent for poisoning and inflaming the American mind as "atrocities." This was a form of poison that could be injected into the national circulatory system without detection. The dispenser of this insidious form of propaganda could employ it without much fear of detection—he could inject unadulterated lies, or half lies and half truths, according as he wished a specific result. A few drops of this virus, skillfully injected, would madden and inflame a whole community.

The fact that this propaganda was manufactured at this particular time in England and France and sent wholesale here did not seem to arouse the suspicions of the American people. It seemed as though they desired to swallow the mixture, without question. They did not seem to know or care to know, that during the time that the British papers were filled with stories of atrocities, Premier Asquith made a notable reply regarding these in the British House of Commons in the following language:

"No information has reached the Minister of War concerning the repeated stories that German soldiers had abused the Red Cross flag; killed and maimed the wounded; and killed

women and children, as has been alleged so often in stories of the battle-fields."

Here is the Premier of Britain, speaking for the war office that had all access to the front and even behind the lines, giving the lie to the stories that filled the British press, and were fed without stint or limit to the American people, and to the people of the world. And it must be remembered that at the time the press was not allowed anywhere near the front, and could not get first-hand information.

It will be remembered that the worst stories of atrocities were circulated during the first months of the war; particularly during the first few months after Germany occupied Belgium and France. America not being at war, her correspondents were allowed to follow the German armies. "Current Opinion," the well and favorably known magazine, calls attention to the whole situation in the following words:

"From the beginning of the present war, the most harrowing stories of atrocities have been current. But a noteworthy number of reports have been coming of late from the American correspondents discrediting the worst of these stories and restoring, in a measure, the world's faith in its own humanity."

Joseph O'Donnell Bennett of the Associated Press, has sent a long and detailed statement to the Chicago Tribune of the attempts of himself and four American correspondents, to run down stories of atrocities. He says: "I marched for days with the German columns, often only one day behind the fighting, with the houses that had been burned still smouldering, the ground freshly broken by shells and trampled by horses and men, and the memory of the German advance vivid in the minds of the inhabitants. I

interviewed at least twenty persons in each of a dozen towns, and found only one instance of a non-combatant, who had been killed without provocation. In this case the evidence did not prove that this man had been wantonly murdered. Neither in Brussels nor its environs could we find, on diligent inquiry, a single offense. Investigation failed to substantiate any of the rumors, nor could we find any one in the immediate vicinity who credited them. We have seen no atrocities, we can get proof of none."

The New York World published the following dispatch from a special correspondent dated September 24th:

"The French, English and Belgians accuse the Germans of shocking atrocities, the Germans accusing the English, French and Belgians of equally shocking acts of barbarism."

"In the opinion of the impartial observer, such as I am endeavoring to be, I feel that eighty per cent of these accusations are not true, ten per cent fearfully exaggerated, and ten per cent true."

A round robin to the same effect was signed by such men as Irving S. Cobb of the Saturday Evening Post, Henry Hansen of the Chicago Evening News, Roger Lewis of the Associated Press, and John T. McCutcheon of the Chicago Tribune.

The following editorial reflects the thoughts of sane people regarding the question of atrocities but such wise reflections apparently did not sink into the consciousness of the Pro-Ally partisan. The Emporia Gazette has this to say editorially:

"Did the civilized world think war anything but what it is—a miserable, cowardly carnival of blood-lust and worse passions? Of course

they will shoot nurses, and worse than that; of course they will burn towns and outrage women. Of course they will drop bombs, and let their devilish passions loose upon every defenseless thing. For that is war. The Germans are not worse than the rest of us. When we go the limit, the limit is bad, and war is the everlasting lust of humanity."

It was a notorious fact that if the German Command sought to punish the civilian population either in Belgium or France, for sniping or other depredations, they were immediately attacked by the press as being barbarians—never making allowance for the necessity for such action. It will be admitted that in a life and death struggle many things will be done that will cause a shudder when rehearsed in a peaceful gathering. But what must be said of a nation of at least 100,000,000 fighting a pygmy of a quarter of a million and resorting to ruthless warfare, as exhibited when Britain fought the little Boer Republic? For ruthlessness the following war order of Lord Roberts will equal anything of which we have authentic knowledge:

"When any attempt has been made to destroy a railroad line, all the farms and residences within a circumference of ten miles must be destroyed; cattle and all provisions taken away and residents driven away without food and shelter."

Modern warfare has discarded poison arrows; but has substituted instead, poison gas and poison propaganda. The most insidious, the most deadly and without a question the most cowardly method of warfare is modern propaganda. Poison gas often brings instant death to the professional fighters on the battlefield—and ends there; but poison propaganda does

not see the full results of its deadly, venomous and wicked work in three generations. Bayonets and bullets maim and kill human flesh on the field of battle; but poison propaganda inflames and pollutes the minds and consciences of men, women and children of an entire nation.

But the war spirit must be intensified, Liberty Bonds must be sold, therefore hate must be kindled, and what more prolific breeder of hate could be desired than the rehearsals of atrocities, the maiming and killing of children, and above all—the lustful assaults on women.

Many lovers of their kind, felt confident that should Europe's feuds, jealousies and hatreds culminate and burst into a continent-wide storm, America, owing to her isolation, and the intelligence and discernment of her people, could be relied upon to balance the scales of justice as between the warring factions. They at least were expected not to condemn a nation unheard, or on evidence submitted by its enemies. To the amazement of all those who love justice and fair play and who admired national sanity and poise, they found a large section of American people were being influenced by blood connection; ready to believe the most horrible stories told of one fighting group, and refusing to believe the other side being capable of acting in the struggle differently from what would be expected of them at church or in a drawing-room. The American people were not without examples for their guidance. They knew that neither in America nor anywhere else in the world were Germans considered a lustful or degenerate people. Then why should the war produce more depravity in the German than in the Belgian, the Englishman or the Frenchman? The records of the Franco-Prussian war do not

show that Germany was accused of either lust or unnecessary cruelty; then why such a change in a few years in national character? We have said that Germany had a reputation the world over for the high virtues of her people. But what of Belgium and France? In the matter of atrocities, Belgium in the Congo stands safely next to Turkey in Armenia. And how will the national morals of France compare with Germany's? France with her salacious art, her suggestive literature, her unnamable hidden and disgusting vices, and her carnival of race murder—a revolting crime against both the laws of man and God—race murder which depleted her of her manhood, which nature had intended for her protection in time of need?

Unmindful of these and other conditions, millions of the American people threw reason and discernment to the winds and were content to be fed on vile concoctions which were prepared at home and abroad by diabolical and skillful hands which were rapidly rendering Americans an easy victim for the coming sacrifice.

These unthinking people did not want war, but they were stupidly playing into the hands of a leader or leaders who did want war—and yet were preaching peace. The time had not yet arrived for those who talked peace with their lips and yet had their hearts set for war to declare themselves. Never in all history did a leader of a people change so suddenly from the soft-tongued angel of peace to the War God, as did Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States. Owing to the American people giving credit to him for keeping them out of the war, they elected him to another term. No sooner had he secured the reigns of power for an additional four years, than he tore from his

face the mask of peace, and startled America beheld the grinning and cynical visage of the God of War. Never were the people of any country so skillfully, so deliberately, and in such cold blood, delivered into the hands of one man, to be used at will and for his own ambitions, and they became in his hands, by virtue of power and circumstances, as helpless as sheep before their shearers, when the American people elected Woodrow Wilson their President for a second term. When the hour arrived for Woodrow Wilson to act, to act no doubt in accordance with the plans long matured, the American people were as helpless to stay his hand as the people of Germany were to stay the hand of their Kaiser. Hundreds who yet languish in American prisons can testify to this fact. The President knew that if the question of peace and war were left to the people, that peace would be chosen triumphantly. That is why he wore the garments of peace, before they elected him. But now that he had full control what cared he for the people? It cannot be said of Woodrow Wilson that he was not ambitious. No man could reach the head of a great university, the governorship of a great state, or the presidency of the United States without being impelled by ambition. He saw vividly a great world drama being enacted—the greatest drama of all time—the chief actors of which would go down in history, through all the ages to come. In view of this, was he going to remain an auditor, or be content to stand in the wings where the audience could get an occasional glimpse of him, or even play the modest and unheroic part of peace-maker?

On the contrary, was he not in a position to jump on the stage, seize the villain and cast him

into outer darkness, and then restore the stolen jewels to our lady fair, bring about peace and order, and then take a position in the center of the stage before the footlights and hear the acclaim of a world audience with all the assurance that his name would echo forever down the corridors of time?

That indeed was a very ambitious dream; but Woodrow Wilson was not the first man whose dreams turned from pleasant and ambitious excursions into a horrible nightmare.

Mr. Wilson knew full well the arbitrary and almost despotic power with which he was vested; and that for another period of four years. He knew Congress and he knew his people. It is true that he realized that the majority of the people, although holding strong opinions, were not in favor of war; but he knew that the press was with him, the ultra-patriots, and the noisy flag-wavers, and the hordes of greed and graft (fifteen thousand of whom have since become millionaires), and he was taught the lesson by the European nations that once war is declared and the national honor is at stake, and the bands begin playing and patriotic hymns sung, and the flags are set to the breeze—opposition will die away and any protest will be smothered in the roar of noisy applause. If Congress should balk, he knew what spurs he could use on their haunches; and if unmanageable—how they could be curbed. Never did a European despot sit on his throne with more confidence in being able to carry out his own individual will, in spite of parliaments or peoples, than Woodrow Wilson in 1916. He carried into the White House the petty despotism of the schoolroom. Long before he even dreamed of the presidency he was a sincere be-

liever in one-man authority. He came to the conclusion, no doubt, that if, for instance, the President knew more than any senator or congressman, or more than any individual in the country, that he should be the logical man and the most desirable man to make the laws for the people. Then why the necessity of an expensive and troublesome Congress or Senate? In this he was like the youth who spent his first day as assistant in a drug store. In looking over the stock he came across a bottle of patent medicine. The label set forth that the remedy cured every disease known to suffering humanity. The boy was perplexed. In his dilemma he asked the proprietor why it was necessary to keep the thousand and one other drugs in stock, when he had one medicine that would do the work of all.

Mr. Wilson's opinions as far back as 1898 were a forecast of that contempt which he has since shown for that approach to a representative government which we have here in America, namely—Congress. Mr. Wilson at that time was quite a sincere admirer of Bagehot, the English wit and critic. Bagehot remarked: "A good horse likes to feel the rider's bit; and a great deliberate assembly likes to feel that it is under worthy guidance. A great assembly is as soon spoiled by over-indulgence as a little child." "These," remarks Mr. Wilson, "are eminently business-like sentences." It certainly must be flattering to Congress to know that unless under the firm guidance and discipline of the President, they will become like spoiled children. That certainly is the mind of the schoolmaster—and it a far stretch from the schoolroom to the White House.

The partisans of a Republican form of gov-

ernment, particularly those who were possessed of the conviction that a republic is Heaven-born, and any modification of it would be both sacrilege and treason, must have been at least disturbed, if not distressed, on observing America's entry into the great war.

It is not an exaggeration to state that the American people had no say, nor were they consulted in any greater regard in this very serious business than the peoples of either Russia or Germany.

The form of government in this country, as at present constituted, in many respects is as autocratic and as unresponsive to the will of the people as was the government of Germany prior to 1914; the only difference being that the American people, once in two or four years, have the privilege of changing their taskmasters. King Democrat or ex-King Republican is after all the only choice of the people.

The independent pretender, usually owing to conditions, has very little chance for the American throne.

That President Wilson acted upon his own judgment, independent of his people, and without consulting them, in deciding for war, cannot be gainsaid.

The American people, once they had given the reins of power to their executive were as helpless and impotent to curb their ruler as the people of Germany were impotent against the will of their Kaiser. If his judgment were good, the people would benefit, and if bad, the people would suffer; substantially as in Germany, and in Germany exactly as in America. Not one of the peoples of Europe, had they been consulted by referendum, would have declared for war—it was a war of the leaders, not of the

peoples. Had the American people been consulted as in a democracy, they would have given even more of an emphatic verdict against war. And no one knew that fact better than President Wilson. That is the principal reason that he waited for a second term of office before declaring war.

He knew that the people of Britain did not want war, or the people of Germany, or of France, but he observed that once their leaders had declared for war, and the poisons of hate were skillfully let loose, and the War God enthroned, that millions instantly stood ready to make supreme sacrifices on the cruel and bloody altar of pagan patriotism.

Europe had set up her altars for a blood sacrifice, and the high priests of the Entente, especially, refused to believe, in order to further their own ends, that there was any salvation for the peoples, except through the shedding of human blood. Their eyes were blind and their ears were deaf to compromise, rapprochement or reconciliation.

The high priest of America shared in that belief, and in support thereof set up an altar for an American blood sacrifice. Instead of acting the part of the world's greatest mediator, he chose to be his country's greatest sacrificer. Instead of using his office and position in the spirit of fairness, impartiality, and Christian charity and forbearance, he became an uncompromising partisan of one group against the other. His own conscience, his heart and his brain told him that the issues between the warring nations were not clean-cut, they were not one-sided, that each was guilty. He knew the particular disease that was convulsing each and all of them.

In the face of this he committed, without stint

or limit, and with but nebulous reservations, the blood and treasure of America; in common cause with despotic and barbarous Russia, revengeful and degenerate France, cruel and pagan Japan, and designing and envious Britain. These were the noble associates of America. It certainly was like a Don Quixote going forth in the company of a band of angels to slay the dragon.

Woodrow Wilson knew intimately the character of each of the belligerents. He knew what animated them in the past, and he was not blind to each of their hidden aims and objects in the great war. He had no misgivings as to which way Russia was heading; the prize France was after; and Britain's hidden expectations. His sense of fairness in the beginning of the struggle told him that the interests of the world would be best served by "peace without victory." This exalted, if not inspired declaration, was made early in the struggle; when all the main facts were fresh and obtainable. It was certainly made with a full belief that no belligerent was guilty, or all were guilty. There is no question that he deemed them all guilty; and their guilt only a question of degree. At any rate, at that time, he apparently did not share the belief that any fighting group in Europe, at least, was wise enough, good enough, and just enough to be allowed to completely crush another great group and impose their will completely on the other. Considering the ambitions of the German ruling class, and their belief that Might makes Right which had been proven against them, coupled with a full knowledge of the history and ideals or lack of ideals of the nations of the Entente, he was justified in believing even then, that peace by victory was unthinkable and would surely sow the seed for another struggle

and would usher in a period of universal hate, of which France was but an isolated example. He felt, no doubt, like the just judge who listened to the case of two neighbors, both of whom were in the wrong, unreasoning and unreasonable, and who after reviewing the evidence gave them both a lecture on manners and conduct, and ordered each to pay his own costs.

These were Mr. Wilson's impulses as he viewed the struggle in its early stages. When one beholds to-day the terrible results manifest on every hand of Peace by Victory—Peace by complete physical domination of practically half the civilized world over the other half, resulting in universal anarchy and ruin the wide-world over, and as one witnesses the depths of degradation into which the world has fallen as the result of this "Victory," we can well imagine future historians writing into history, Woodrow Wilson as the most tragic and colossal failure, considering his opportunities, of all time. It will be recorded that he let fall from his nerveless grasp the sword with which he could have cut the cords that were binding the nations of Europe in a hopeless, struggling, and of themselves, inextricable mass. The power was given him to sever these bands, separate the writhing mass, tell each the plain truth about himself, lay down the basis for a just settlement, and if this were not acceptable to one group and acquiesced in by the other, join with the reasonable group, or in the event of both refusing these good offices, have America cut off communications entirely with both groups and leave them to their own self-imposed destruction.

During the course of the war there were many psychological opportunities for a whole-hearted, fair-minded, and impartial injection of the good

offices of America in the struggle. Instead of taking the transcendent question up in a businesslike, let alone statesmanlike way, Mr. Wilson raised not even a hand to stop those actions of his countrymen which created suspicions of America in Germany and gave corresponding encouragement to the Entente group. He allowed his countrymen to wax rich as a result of Europe's misfortunes; thereby creating a premium for the continuance of the war indefinitely. He employed his precious time in blowing meaningless word bubbles and watching them rise and float into thin air, before an admiring audience that applauded his acrobatic and nice use of words and phrases, which were as meaningless as they were impotent. When he theorized he was indefinite: when he was definite he was one-sided and brutally partisan.

Great Britain announced early that she would be content with nothing less than a complete physical victory over Germany. This was both characteristic and probable. With her powerful allies, and world resources at her command, she was going to see to it, no matter who else might suffer, that this long-looked for opportunity of crushing her menace and rival would be turned to the best possible account. She therefore did not like Wilson's early formula, "peace without victory"; but as to this she was soon put at ease. She soon discovered that this was but a fragile and evanescent dream of the schoolmaster—the statesman reverting momentarily to a simpler type.

Britain began to understand the Wilson mind. They saw a peculiar combination of schoolmaster, preacher, politician and statesman. They beheld neither an entity nor a non-entity, but a peculiar mixture of softness and hardness,

firmness and flexibility. They discovered, for instance, that he was so physically and mentally constituted that he would be liable to make more noise and fuss in having the tips of his toes trampled upon, than in having his leg taken off. They came to understand that he had a very wide vision, but that his peculiarity lay in the fact that he could see only one object at a time; and when star-gazing, he was liable to be thrown on all-fours by a trivial object at his feet.

When President Wilson dropped his formula "peace without victory," and substituted "make the world safe for democracy," casting at the same time a look of disdain at Germany, and one of approval and complacency on those heroic defenders of democracy—Russia, despot and barbarian; Japan, the pagan; and France, late of the Dreyfus fame—there certainly was injected into the whole sad war business the first act of real comedy—a species of humor that even the stolid Englishman could appreciate, admire and enjoy.

In the early months of the struggle there were two propositions put forth for ending the war—one by America, the greatest of the neutrals, and the other by Great Britain, one of the leading participants.

These propositions were as wide apart as the shores of the ocean that lay between the two nations presenting them. Mr. Wilson spoke truly for America, and registered the best thought of mankind when, in expressing his opinion, he used the most lofty phrase ever employed by a statesman—"peace without victory." He did not ask the warring nations to compromise their differences. There was nothing to compromise. There were no principles

involved. The war had started, to all appearance, by reason of two great nations, each coming to the assistance of a neighbor and friend. Russia made a move to protect Servia—Germany stepped in to protect Austria; France and England sided with their partner and friend, Russia. It began with a local fight between two neighbors and it grew to immense proportions; through the attractive force of sympathy, if not self-interest. There were no principles involved. There were no questions agitating these peoples that had to be solved. There were no controversies between the nations. But a day before the struggle began all was as peaceful as at any period during the preceding twenty-five years. Considering these facts, Wilson no doubt felt there was nothing to compromise—that the only thing for them to do was quit fighting and resume their former peaceful relations. No opposition to this formula came from Germany; for she, though it may have been hypocritical, claimed that she was simply protecting an ally and defending the fatherland. It remained for Great Britain, as head of the Entente, to brush Mr. Wilson's proposition aside and announce anew her war aims which consisted in the monstrous declaration that the war would be waged on her part until Germany and her allies were crushed; in other words, that Britain and her associates intended to obtain complete physical victory over their opponents.

Had it been a case of principle, of conscience, of humanity, of unselfishness, or disinterestedness and of high ideals, coupled with humility and an unblemished past record, as against a record of years of proven international crime on the part of one now engaged in a repetition of

these crimes, then such war aims as set forth by Britain could, in the sight of men, at least be justified. But with Germany's guilt for starting the war in doubt, even sincerely questioned by prominent Britons, as well as neutrals, with the further knowledge that to compare the previous war crimes of Germany and Britain, if we take the record for the past hundred and fifty years, would be like comparing the purity of a mountain stream with the dirty waters of the Ganges, would make Britain's claims and aims preposterous.

A purely physical victory such as this meant the exaltation of might; a decision in strict accordance with the brutality of ages, the arbitrament of the caveman. A victory such as this, under the circumstances, was monstrous in its conception, brutal in its execution, and accursed in its results.

Here we find Britain setting herself up as both plaintiff, judge and executioner. Judge between Russia and Germany; France and Germany; and herself and Germany; excluding all favorable and extenuating testimony for her opponent, whitewashing and exalting her associates, and binding them by bribes, promises and threats, in an agreement, to stick together until each obtained what his heart craved, and the enemy beaten into the dust.

In the face of this decision, proclaimed from the house-tops, there was nothing left for Germany to do but abjectly surrender or fight to a finish.

No one knew better what this meant than President Wilson. He knew that if such an uncompromising and bloody program were carried out, it would mean the wreck of Europe; and yet he was the man who held the key to the whole situation.

In order to carry out this gruesome enterprise, Britain required American food, clothing, and war materials. In addition to this she must be allowed to undermine the strength of Germany by starvation. A failure of either of these plans rendered a complete victory impossible.

Had the hope of a complete physical victory been removed from Britain's possibilities, and a draw the only probable outcome remaining, there is no question but that her leaders would have preferred a termination of hostilities, at the first psychological opportunity, on the basis of peace without advantage to either side.

If Mr. Wilson had stood by his first impulse and insisted, in-so-far as America was concerned, that peace should come without victory, he certainly was in a position to force reason on Britain, by cutting off all supplies to the warring factions.

It must be admitted that owing to the racial complexion of America, Mr. Wilson's position, to a marked degree, was difficult. As has been stated, the natural sympathy, at least in the early stages of the contest, was not strong enough to influence five per cent of Americans to intervene in behalf of Britain and her allies. Had the merits of the controversy between the contending parties in Europe, from a standpoint of right and justice, been equal or even somewhat in favor of Germany, America, if compelled to take sides, would nevertheless have without question joined the Entente.

Even though America sympathized with the Entente and profited by the war, it is only fair to say that the majority of the people would not knowingly do Germany an injustice, or would they have the war continue one day longer than necessary even though the nation made billions

as a result of it. They desired world peace, even at the expense of unheard-of profits. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Wilson's position was both delicate and difficult. He knew he might favor the Entente without creating much opposition, aside from the German element, but he dare not, even in the remotest way, appear to favor Germany.

It would be difficult indeed, to imagine what conditions could induce America to go into the war on the side of Germany, but no imagination would be necessary to conceive how easy it would be to bring America in on the side of the Entente. But America, nevertheless, was as yet not beyond the power of discrimination. For instance, if Mr. Wilson had made it plain to the American people that peace without victory was the one thing desirable, that the war should end with no advantage to either belligerent, excepting indemnity to Belgium; that he conceived that each side was more or less to blame; that Britain's slogan "Peace by Victory" would mean Europe's ruin (as it has); that Germany stood ready to disarm on fair terms, and in order to bring this about, and in order to bring Britain to her senses, it would be necessary to cut off the supplies of food, clothing and war material from the Entente, America would have, with the exception of the war profiteers and yellow newspapers, willingly and cheerfully acquiesced. This was the key Mr. Wilson held to the war situation. It would have unlocked, without forcing, the door to peace. One month of such treatment as this would have brought haughty Britain both to her knees and to her senses.

There were several periods, during the course of the struggle, even within a few months of its

inception, that the lock stood ready for the key. Key in hand, Mr. Wilson stood hesitating, while millions of mortals were being driven, like helpless cattle, to the slaughter.

* * * * *

Starvation is ruthless warfare, even when confined to a belligerent garrison, but who can measure the atrocious villainy of an attempt, in order to win physical supremacy, of the starving of the men, women and children of an entire nation?

Can any mortal even calculate the thousands upon thousands of infants who went to their graves more cruelly, and with more certainty, than if they had been within the range of the infernal British guns, than those countless innocent children of Germany?

There never was a cause so just, since men came on the earth, that required such fiendish means to establish it, as the wholesale starving of innocent women and children, of a village, much less an entire nation.

Upon looking behind the scenes in Germany to-day and observing the horrible results of the gradual starvation of one entire nation by another—the thousands of starving infants vainly striving to extract sustenance from the emaciated and impoverished breasts of mothers—mothers who were refusing food that they sorely needed in order that seed might be sown for another harvest—old men dropping by the wayside, ending life so that their offsprings might live, dying as surely by this act of war of the enemy, as soldiers in battle, and then profane if you will, the name of Christ by calling this Christian warfare, or the nation Christian that is so incarnate a fiend as to employ it. It is in deed and truth the crowning infamy of

war, a nation turning savage, multiplying the Black Hole of Calcutta ten thousand times.

This was the method of warfare that Britain had to employ, if she hoped, even by years of effort, to obtain peace by victory.

But never in the history of mankind was retribution so swift, so appalling, and so deserved as that which found expression in the submarine, by which Germany, through what might almost appear a gift of Providence, was placed in a position, barring outside interference, to break asunder the ever-tightening chains that were slowly, but surely, crushing out the lives of non-combatant men, women and children of Germany. Britain's was a crime against humanity; cruel, merciless and monstrous; and Germany's answer, terrible though it was, must be justified in that, "necessity knows no law."

When Great Britain first adopted the starvation method for humbling her enemy, America, although profiting from the war and sympathizing generally with Britain, was compelled, both as a matter of business and of conscience, to protest against Britain's inhumanity. It will be of interest now to examine a fragment of the protest that was made against that inhuman method of warfare.

The Literary Digest, March 13th, 1915:

"Continued protest against invasion of our rights by any of the belligerents and continued effort to bring about an understanding between England and Germany, which will mitigate the sufferings of neutral commerce, are urged by many American editors in the situation produced by the starvation decree issued by the two chief belligerents in Europe. In official circles in Washington, there is a feeling as reflected by the correspondents, that "it will be

impossible to induce Great Britain to make any material changes in her plans she has announced in starving Germany." "Germany's doom is sealed; we will starve her out," says the French Minister of Marine.

The New York World:

"A blockade is a very definite thing, but to notify the world in general terms that commerce with Germany is forbidden, without declaring a blockade and accepting its responsibilities, amounts to a declaration that neutrals as well as belligerents are involved in war. If German submarine warfare is piracy, this lawless British warfare also is piracy."

The New York Evening Post:

"Such a frank repudiation of international law and of a treaty will go far to rob England of the moral superiority which she appears to have had at the beginning of the war."

The New York Globe:

"If neutral countries do not lay embargoes on their commerce with Germany, as the Allies prescribe, then the Allies are to enforce what appears to be a blockade against these neutral countries."

The Washington Post:

"The effect of the new law will be to drive off the ocean all commerce except commerce with the Allies. Our duty is to make such a determined protest to England as shall be heeded. This protest shall take the form of an ultimatum, or it may actually result in war. But even that is preferable to being dragged into war on account of our cowardly failure to enforce our neutrality."

The Post, later on, asks: "Would the German Government take pains to feed the prisoners of war, first, while Germans themselves were

starving?" And adds: "In a short time it will become apparent that Great Britain has made a gigantic blunder by thus antagonizing the peaceful nations of the world. Her plan is unworkable for two reasons; first, the Allies will not permit their soldiers in Germany to be starved, which would be necessary and inevitable if Britain's blockade should be effective; and secondly, the neutral nations of the world will not permit their commerce to be destroyed. They will go to war against Great Britain, if nothing short of war will break her grip on the ocean."

The Literary Digest in taking note of public opinion in the United States, on March 20th, 1915, says: "Indignant denunciation is pouring in on Britain's long-range blockade of Germany. Editorial observers call it an indefensible misuse of sea power, international bullying, and a new form of piracy."

Boston Globe:

"England imposes her decree by no right, except the right of might."

Pittsburgh Leader:

"The right sort of reprisal would be to stop shipments of all kinds from the United States, which would put an end to the war in a way that perhaps some folk in Europe have not figured on."

New York Morning Telegraph:

"Count Bernstorff has a right to ask United States to obey the spirit of neutrality and cease selling powder and balls and cannon to Great Britain while it would not send food to Germany. Does any man of sense need to be told that Bernstorff, when he filed his note of protest, did not act within his rights. On the face of it, though claiming to be neutral, we are

favoring the Allies, as Count Bernstorff asserts."

The sentiment, as reflected in the above editorials, although pointing the way in which their President might proceed, shows clearly that America was more bent on her own material interests being conserved than the protection of innocent women and children of Germany against the inevitable results of barbaric piracy. In America's indignant protests against the lawlessness of Britain, in this instance, we cannot find any more evidence or traces in the dictates of humanity, aside from self-interest, than when subsequently she resorted to war, as the result of the destruction of her commerce by German submarines.

Had America been strictly neutral, in thought as well as in act, she would have seen unmistakably, that German lawless submarine warfare came as a direct result of British lawless misuse of sea power—lawlessness employed in order to overcome a form of lawlessness which had for its object the destruction of millions of innocent non-combatants; and not committed for the purpose of affronting the American people.

To the protests of America, Britain turned a deaf ear. She announced emphatically, that her piracy would go on. America, therefore, was placed in a position where she had to go to war to maintain her neutral rights—or accept the conditions as laid down by England, as a lesser of two evils. Going to war to protect her commerce at that particular time would have been unthinkable; unless she added to self-interest the higher one of humanity—the protection of a nation against starvation. In either case, war was not either her remedy or her weapon. For-

tunately, she had within her reach the means by which Britain could be brought to reason more quickly than by the use of armies or navies—she could cut off temporarily, food, clothing and war materials. But Mr. Wilson did neither one nor the other. He saw in Britain's sea methods, autocracy in its most irritating and objectionable form—cold, merciless, destructive and uncompromising. Its power for evil, for self-aggrandizement, for one-sided punishment, was more than duplicating the power of the worst despot on any throne of Europe. Yet he could not see that this was a form of autocracy that had to be crushed in order to make the world safe for democracy. As yet the beautiful dream of making the world safe for democracy had not flitted through the President's brain. That "inspired" conception took possession of the soul of Woodrow Wilson upon the refusal of Germany to stay the submarine warfare, which warfare was jeopardizing American commerce, commerce which was employed exclusively by Britain in German destruction.

How a war, that was threatened, and afterwards declared, for the purpose of protecting profits and commerce, and could have been avoided if these profits and commerce had been left intact, could be turned into a holy war for principle and humanity, is beyond all human understanding and will remain for all time one of the absurdities of history.

America's grievance against Germany was set forth in plain and specific terms. She was accused of destroying American shipping. If the two countries were to remain friends, this must be discontinued. If discontinued, America and Germany would continue in their historic friendship; if persisted in, war would result. A purely business proposition.

No "sacred" principles were even hinted at, much less anticipated. In plain English, the proposition was, "continue to sink our ships and we will be at war, refrain and America and Germany will remain at peace."

Long after the invasion of Belgium and the thousands of atrocities credited to Germany, we find Mr. Wilson making the following declaration (December 8th, 1914): "This is a war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes cannot reach us, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility."

The pertinent question, then, naturally arises, why should America have genuine hostility against Germany in 1916, for the invasion of Belgium and the atrocities that were reported when Belgium and France were first occupied, when on December 8th, 1914, with a full knowledge of the invasion of Belgium, coupled with rightful information regarding atrocities, he tells his people that they should be ashamed to have any thought of hostility?

Again, on December 7th, 1915, seven months after the "Lusitania" had been sunk, he tells Congress that, "we have stood apart, studiously neutral. It was our manifest duty to do so."

Again, on September 2nd, 1916, after observing Europe's conflagration for two long years, Mr. Wilson, in accepting the Democratic nomination, re-affirmed his previous declarations and gave assurance to the American people, that if elected for a second term to the Presidency, he would in the interests of the American people, and the interests of humanity, continue to lead his people in the paths of peace and neutrality. He gave them assurance, with as com-

plete knowledge as was possible for any man to possess as to who was guilty for bringing on the war, with a knowledge of the particular selfish interests that each party had in the struggle, with a knowledge of Britain's inhuman program of the starving of an entire nation and with an appreciation of Germany's terrible method of warding off the impending calamity which this starvation method had in store for her.

These peaceful utterances on the part of the President were received with both confidence and approval by the people of the country; and as a result of this confidence and approval, and in obedience to the slogan, "he kept us out of the war," Mr. Wilson owes his election for a second term.

American history fully bears out the contention that some of her presidents have shown traits and characteristics during their second and last term of office which were not in evidence during their first term. Having no fear of the disapproval of the electorate, an independence of action is noted—often bordering on kingly autocracy. At the fag end of his first term of office, and particularly preceding the election of 1916, Mr. Wilson was the soft-tongued neutral; but no sooner was he installed in office for the second term, than he gave the world to understand that Mr. Wilson's ideas and ideals were to prevail—not those of the American people.

Mr. Wilson, almost over-night, assumed a decidedly belligerent, partisan, and uncompromising attitude. As yet he was not inspired by the necessity of fighting to make the world safe for democracy. That came later, during the flood-tide of the Wilsonian platitudinous

exuberance which well nigh engulfed the world in a tidal wave of words. What he really entered the war for was to make safe the Atlantic for American ammunition ships which were destined for British ports, but ultimately for the body of the German soldier, and also to make safe British passenger vessels which carried the American flag at their masts and in their holds, shot and shell which would ultimately blow the German defenders into eternity.

“Sink our vessels and there will be war, refrain from so doing and we will be friends.” That was the height and full measure of Wilson’s war aims on April 18th, 1916, nearly two years after the European war broke out and Belgium was over-run, one year after the Lusitania was sunk, and with nearly two years of full knowledge of both Germany’s aims and objects, and her war record.

The fires for humanity had not yet been kindled in Wilson’s heart—as yet we detect nothing but sordid, commonplace self-interest.

In what was practically an ultimatum to Germany, Mr. Wilson in 1916 says: “Unless the imperial German government shall now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.”

Had Germany acquiesced in Mr. Wilson’s ultimatum, America would probably not be wearing the halo of glory she is to-day, in having fought and won the war to make the world safe for democracy; which brought peace to the world—a peace which is now beyond all understanding!

Not only did Woodrow Wilson cause America to enter the war for purely local and selfish reasons; and in doing so, Mr. Wilson wilfully and grossly misrepresented the German government. On February 3rd, 1917, Mr. Wilson announced to Congress the breaking off of diplomatic relations, in the following language: "I think you will agree with me, that in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior instruction of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given by the Imperial Government's note of the 4th of May, 1916, this government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States, but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in event that the German government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort."

In this Mr. Wilson flatly accuses Germany of deliberately breaking a solemn assurance given to this country regarding future submarine warfare. Germany gave no such solemn assurance. She made it plain that her permanent withdrawal was contingent. Germany expressly stated that, as evidence of good faith, she would discontinue certain submarine practices, provided Britain would refrain from her acts of piracy. She asked America in the meantime to use her influence through either friendship or pressure to have Great Britain discontinue her particular piratical warfare, a warfare at which the submarine methods were directed. After keeping her word, which was contingent, and waiting several months, Germany announced that she would meet piracy with piracy—she

would fight the devil with fire—she would sink all commerce destined for her enemy, no matter from what source it came.

The remarkable outcome of this controversy was now culminating, and consisted in the fact that although Britain inaugurated piracy on American commerce, which meant the sinking of American ships if British sea orders were not obeyed and which only received a reprimand from America, we find now that America is willing to make war on Germany for interfering with American commerce although Germany is not doing this by reason of any animosity for America but in order to save herself from destruction from the result of Britain's illegal warfare. Had America been fair and firm in the beginning in her treatment of British violation of international law, the world in all probability would have been saved the horrors of submarine warfare as employed against merchant vessels and America would not have been called upon to expend either her blood or treasure. There is no question that it was Wilson's indecision and partiality, in the early stages of the war, that prolonged the struggle, put compromise out of the question, and brought America into the war.

There is no question that there were many periods during the course of the war when Germany would have been willing to end the struggle, without loss or gain of territory, or without giving or receiving indemnity.

The same thing may be said of Great Britain when the hopelessness of the struggle and its appalling costs were appreciated; provided a strong outside force were injected, which would excuse her in the eyes of her associates and at the same time save her pride.

It is also true, needless to say, that if either belligerent were winning, it would not listen to outside suggestion or dictation.

Necessity is the mother of invention, as it is also a law unto itself. After repeated warnings to Great Britain and appeals to the United States, Germany decided to use the submarine, which must rightly be termed David's sling against an arrogant Goliath.

A few days of this warfare changed, as if by magic, the whole military situation and it became evident to even a novice, that the old, world-champion, the hero of a thousand fair and unfair fights, was becoming groggy and sinking under the terrible blows delivered beneath the belt which he was receiving in return for the foul blows that he had delivered from the very beginning of the fight. It became evident to his relatives and friends and business associates, that something must be done, and done quickly, to save the old warrior from a knock-out.

America as a whole, in some respects, would not waste any sentiment in this regard even if they saw Britain prostrate in the ring, but they feared the prospective champion. America, in this, was very much in the same frame of mind as is reported of a New York politician who had deserted the Democratic party on the free silver issue and joined the Republicans. Later he returned to the Democratic fold. On being accused of insincerity and on being asked for an explanation of his conduct, replied that, "he would rather trust the boss he knew than the boss he did not know."

If America was going to have a sea-power boss, she would rather trust the boss who had become benevolent in the long use of autocracy than

one whom she mistrusted as being a rising aspirant to world rule, and whose graciousness she doubted.

When Great Britain announced that she intended to have the contest decided by purely physical means, and in pursuance of that purpose elected to use foul means for its accomplishment, she was, considering the resourcefulness, disposition, and desperation of her opponent, treading on dangerous ground. In making her decision, she stupidly and persistently undervalued the submarine.

If this "no compromise" slogan of Britain's did not stir President Wilson to action, it certainly must have caused him some uneasiness, even in the early stages of the struggle. He surely must have entertained the possibilities of defeat for Britain. Justly or unjustly, the American people would not allow Britain's subjugation at the hands of the Germans. Manifestly not. Even though Great Britain richly deserved punishment—even defeat—there is no question but Mr. Wilson would use his high office to save her from that humiliation. Therefore, Mr. Wilson must have entertained even from the opening of hostilities, the possibility that America would have to enter the struggle to save Britain from destruction. If that was true, it is evident that America had an implied, if not a legal or moral obligation to see that Britain was not overcome. And Britain's reckless purpose of making this a "finish fight" with all the possible evil consequences for her, was she not assuming this attitude of bravado largely for the reason that she knew, or at least felt confident, that did defeat at any time stare her in the face, America would step in to avert the impending calamity? True, America had

not signed a bond to save Britain; but, nevertheless, there existed an implied bond, stronger than the written bond, the bond of blood, of language, and of mutual interests.

Considering these outstanding facts and conditions and the danger and responsibility for America that lurked in Britain's reckless and extravagant war aims, was it not Mr. Wilson's manifest duty, as well as his right, to bring intelligent pressure on Britain, to the end that she modify her method of warfare as well as her war aims?

In the event that Great Britain refused reasonable advice, it was Mr. Wilson's duty immediately to take up the question with Germany, looking to making an honorable peace settlement; a settlement conceived in a spirit of justice and proffered to all belligerents with scrupulous regard for impartiality.

Considering all the known facts relating to the causes which produced the war, keeping in mind that each came into court with hands more or less unclean, each clearly having objects of a selfish nature in view, the only possible peace terms that could be consistently urged by Mr. Wilson, would be on the basis of no indemnity, no territory, or no advantage to any belligerent, with the exception that Germany compensate Belgium for invasion, etc.

Viewing the whole question at that time with a view to justice and expediency, or looking back at the present time with a full knowledge of all the happenings and events, a peace on that basis would, in time, have met the approval of mankind.

Had Germany refused such a peace program as that, it would have been evident to Mr. Wilson that she was out for conquest and not for

defense, and he could, with a clear conscience, if he chose, throw support to the "boss he knew rather than the boss he did not know."

On the other hand, had Germany agreed to these terms and Britain refused, Mr. Wilson could have, and should have, in order to bring Britain to fairness and sanity, cut off all supplies from her. In this he would have had the approval and support of a majority of his countrymen, of neutral nations generally, as well as a majority of the peoples who made up the belligerent nations.

Instead of taking action and employing the power and prestige at his disposal, he frittered away precious months in "watchful waiting"—a catchy and euphonious phrase for the absence of plan or lack of initiative.

Mr. Wilson drifted on this course until Germany, through necessity, perfected a weapon so terrible in its nature for destruction, so far-reaching in its possibilities, that it not only answered piracy by piracy, but if allowed to continue, meant Britain's downfall and the triumph of Germany—with all that might mean for America and the world.

With this new weapon in her hand and victory now a probability, with hatred for her enemies and contempt for America, is it to be wondered that Germany now withdrew all peace overtures which she had proffered from time to time?

America's opportunity for bringing about peace had passed; and now, in order to save Britain from defeat, she had to fight. America's decision had brought her into a frightful dilemma. She was compelled, if she entered at all, to be entwined in the coils and meshes of the Entente. Their individual war aims America could not repudiate, lest one of them should

drop out; those principles that she considered just and fair, she could not announce without offending her new associates and weakening their fighting spirit: and in order to meet the dilemma, Mr. Wilson resorted to high sounding, and at times meaningless, phrase making, sentiments which could be interpreted in as many different ways as humanity possessed different brain idiosyncrasies. To the Englishman he was a brother, to the Frenchman a friend and to the Russian and Jap he was a comrade in the sacred cause of democracy against autocracy, to the German people he posed as their would-be deliverer and to the German rulers he was the wrath of God.

The truth is, he entered the war to save American shipping from destruction and to save America's chief debtor from defeat.

Now that America was in the war, "Democracy" was to be the slogan and Wilson its prophet. To each of Mr. Wilson's lofty declarations and pronouncements his new European and Asiatic associates reverently bowed and said "Amen—we agree with every word of that, whatever it means." Unfortunately for Mr. Wilson, innocent and guileless prophet, inexperienced and callow diplomat, unfortunately for him indeed, that the Entente were not at the time required to put in black and white their conception of what they really did understand as to the meaning and purport of Mr. Wilson's declarations. Indeed, it was not until Germany was defeated, and until he met his victorious friends in Paris, that he discovered to his horror that his "14 Points" were only considered by the experienced and resourceful statesmen of England, France, Italy and Japan, as being juvenile first exercises in diplomacy;

and democracy, as they understood it, consisted in appropriating everything of value in sight, in accordance with traditions and practices of the honorable statesmen with whom Mr. Wilson had, so fortunately for democracy, America and the world, cast his lot.

As a result of this "peace" meeting Mr. Wilson returned to America, like Moses from the Fair, with a case of green spectacles, in the form of a peace treaty, an instrument which would do credit and honor to Bismarck, Napoleon the First, Alexander or Caesar.

Thus to their long list of crimes the Allies added the heartless one of taking advantage of pastoral innocence, pedagogic statesmanship and democratic simplicity, venturing abroad in obedience to the dictates of vanity and the incipient dreams of ambition.

All thinking men know that there was a time during the progress of the war when Woodrow Wilson could have dictated to his associates the terms for a just and lasting peace; there was a time when we could have had the freedom of the seas, gradual disarmament, made provision for a right disposition of the German colonies, reconciled Italy and secured relief for all time from the Japanese menace. The time for dictating that peace to our associates was when they were depending on America's aid to save them from defeat—the time was not when Germany lay prostrate at the feet of her enemies and when the Allies cared not the snap of their fingers for further American aid.

Surely Mr. Wilson realized in his heart of hearts as he sat at the Paris Council Table and as he witnessed the independence and greed on every hand that there was a vast difference in dealing with men fighting with their "backs to

the wall'' and the same group of men when they had become exulting victors.

* * * * *

The service that these world leaders performed for mankind and the peace which they evoked, I will attempt to set forth and describe in another chapter.

CHAPTER VI

A FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF INCONSISTENCY, INSINCERITY AND GUILT

It is no idle prediction that history will apportion a large share of the guilt of bringing on the World War to Great Britain, France and Russia; and in addition to this, the almost equally dastardly crime of prolonging the war beyond reasonable bounds will be credited to Great Britain, France and America.

While it is true America will be held guiltless of contributing in any way to initial war causes, yet there are two outstanding facts that the most superficial observer is compelled to note:— (1) That although America did not win the war, yet the Allies could not have won without American aid. (2) Had America remained neutral, in thought as well as in deed, and had not favored the Allies and given them undue encouragement from the beginning, there is no question that a compromise peace would have resulted—and that at no distant time from the outbreak of the war.

No matter what the ambitious military leadership of the Central Powers or the Entente held at the beginning of the War, it is safe to presume or even assert that within ninety days of its inception there was not a general of repute on either side who saw anything ahead but a long-drawn out struggle. It simply resolved itself into a question of resources. The astute military leaders of Germany undoubtedly realized that if with their fighting machine as perfect and as powerful as they ever could hope

to have it, and that complete success did not result within a reasonable length of time, they certainly could not hope to have success either in the immediate or distant future.

Each side, therefore, was compelled to measure resources. Germany's resources were well defined, circumscribed, and to all appearance ample only for defense. Whether for the reason that she had given up hope of victory, or for reasons of a sincere desire for peace, Germany early in the struggle made overtures for bringing the conflict to a close. These offers were branded insincere, particularly by Great Britain; principally for the reason that a compromise peace—a peace which should leave Germany no weaker and Britain no stronger—did not suit the British leaders. But whether these peace proffers by Germany were sincere or were not, may be a debatable question; but the fact remains, and that fact will be to the eternal credit of Germany, that she did offer repeatedly to meet her opponents face to face for the purpose of settling their differences; and the Entente Allies, to their reproach, made no offer to end the war on any basis but that of victory.

But what were the factors which compelled Great Britain to cast aside the peace proffers of Germany and which induced her to continue the fight until a complete physical victory had been attained? Was she not building largely on American support—that support which was outwardly given, and that even greater support which was secretly promised? In this will not American leadership be held guilty of a crime against humanity—almost as great as the crime of starting the war, namely, the heartless crime of contributing to the continuation of the strug-

gle, months, if not years, beyond when the conflict should have ended naturally?

How this great, peaceful American giant was brought into the conflict, unwillingly—blinded and led by pygmies and parasites—robbed and bled, will be a subject that will not be exhausted by writers and investigators for generations to come. No subject in all history will surpass this in human interest—it will remain one of the outstanding absurdities of history—an enigma and a paradox.

Long before the *Lusitania* was sunk, or before the submarine became a factor in the war—American diplomatic and financial interests were at work to swing this country into the war on the side of the Entente Allies. There were two important moves to that end—one staged in Paris and the other in Washington.

In the fall of 1914 when the great German fighting machine became “stalled” midway between the French frontier and Paris, the German leaders made direct proposals for peace to France. They knew that France realized more than any of her associates that she would be the one that would be “bled white,” win or lose. Her soil would be the battle ground, while Russia and Great Britain would remain practically free from invasion. There is no question that Germany did not expect France to desert her associates and make a humiliating, dishonorable and separate peace; but she certainly did expect that France would bring pressure of a legitimate kind on her allies to make them see what it meant for France and the world to endeavor to crush the German fighting machine—a taste of its formidable character they had already experienced. Diplomatic America became aware of this move, no doubt through in-

formation supplied by Great Britain, and instead of taking advantage of this psychological situation to end the carnage in Europe, they made inducements to France to continue the struggle, pledging America's aid—not only money, but men as well.

So, late in the fall of 1914 we find Myron T. Herrick, who had been appointed Ambassador to France by President Taft, William G. Sharp, who had been appointed by Wilson to take Herrick's place as Ambassador, and Robert Bacon, representing the Morgan interests, closeted with the high officials of France; and it was at this meeting that France was induced to reject Germany's proposal for a peace conference, and when the promise was given, if France would fight on, that America would be brought into the struggle. We have this information on no less authority than Gabriel Honotaux, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic and a man high in the councils of France.

How America was "blackjacked" into the war by these men and Wilson will never be adequately told, but enough is known and coming to the surface daily to form a chapter in American history which will bring the blush of shame to those who are possessed of either national pride or a sense of right and justice.

In a very general way, in a former chapter, I alluded to those dark forces which were put in operation to force America into the war. In this chapter I will use more detail in outlining this remarkable procedure.

Shortly after the secret meeting in Paris which we have just alluded to, there was held in the City of Washington, as a direct result of the Paris meeting, a gathering of men whose object was to control public opinion in this

country by the direct and indirect purchase of the press, and through this to intimidate public men, as well as private citizens; and to make it appear, through the barometer of the press, that the sentiment of America was rapidly shaping itself to enter the war on the side of the Entente Allies.

There attended at this secret meeting in Washington within a few months after the war began a number of financial magnates, diplomats, representatives of foreign nations, and large newspaper proprietors. These men realized that not five per cent of the American people had any taste in taking part in Europe's sordid commercial war; but it was firmly held by such publicity experts as were in attendance that the sum of forty millions of dollars would be sufficient to purchase the press, obscure the issue, silence adverse criticism, scatter lies broadcast, and turn the peace-loving American people into bloodthirsty fanatics. As to some of the details of how the will of this meeting was carried out, the reader may consult the Congressional Record of February 9th, 1917—information that the subsidized press never gave to their readers.

Surely no one will question that in the fall of 1914 there was little war sentiment in the United States—particularly at the time these men, who at the Paris meeting pledged American blood and treasure to France. Roosevelt, for instance, had not yet seen the "enormity" of the Belgian invasion, for we find him, long after the invasion, holding the opinion that "what had been done in Belgium had been done in accordance with what Germany unquestionably sincerely believed to be the course of conduct necessitated by Germany's struggle for life."

But a decided newspaper "sentiment" was rapidly taking form as the agents of the Washington meeting, to which I have referred, got down to definite and substantial action. Roosevelt, the astute politician, was, I think, deceived by this showing of war sentiment as expressed in the press. No doubt he was not aware of what means had been taken to create this sentiment—mistaking the artificial for the real. As usual, he had his ear to the ground. The tremors that came to his sensitive and educated ear were not from popular cries for war, but from the ravings and rantings of the paid and subsidized press.

To all appearance Wilson was neglecting to take advantage of this war sentiment. But he of all others was in a position to know the artificial nature of this sentiment—and he contented himself to bide his time until sufficient of the real article were produced—and the time opportune to show his true colors—to turn from neutral grey to fiery red.

For once in Mr. Roosevelt's career that astute gentleman failed to see beneath the surface—he failed to see the inner workings of the "game." Assuming that Wilson was not taking advantage of favorable political tradewinds, Roosevelt concluded to spread his own drooping political sails, hoping thereby to regain some of his lost popularity—if not his former position. He frantically and repeatedly struck what he perceived to be the popular war chord—but it did not respond to either his gentle touch, or the swing of the big stick.

The fact is there was no sentiment to respond. Every test that was made pointed to the fact that there was no real war sentiment anywhere in the country. Mr. Bacon endeavored to win

the nomination for the United States Senate in the State of New York on what was practically a pro-war program—but met with disastrous defeat. Even much later than this, in 1916, a poll was taken in the House of Representatives on the question “Do you favor war with Germany?” and only three representatives voted in favor of war. Even after America entered the war many anti-war adherents questioned Mayor Mitchel’s activity in war affairs, and as a result the New York mayoralty campaign developed into but one issue—war and anti-war. Mr. Roosevelt told the electors of New York and the world that a vote for Mitchel was a vote to endorse the war; and a vote for his opponent meant a vote opposing the war. Mitchel was buried under an avalanche of votes—in every section of the great city. Early in 1916 a resolution was submitted to the United States Senate and voted down by five to one—“That the sinking by a German submarine without notice or warning of an armed vessel of her public enemy, resulting in the death of a citizen of the United States, would constitute a just cause for war between the United States and the German Empire.”

Neither did the young manhood of the country show any burning zeal to enter the sordid struggle—even at a time when all knowledge of war causes and war guilt were at their disposal. From April, 1917, to April, 1918, there were not enough volunteers come forward of their own free will sufficient to hold three miles of battle-front; and this in face of every conceivable form of propaganda, and at the frantic entreaty of men like Roosevelt, Root, and many others of weight and importance; and they did not come forward until they were forcibly driven in like sheep.

So for once, Mr. Roosevelt struck the wrong chord—and therefore failed to get a response to his liking. His failures were attributed to two things: (1) Mistaking the artificial for the real sentiment of the country; (2) That the people generally deemed him inconsistent—if not insincere.

Had he not, in a measure, condoned the German invasion of Belgium, and in addition to this, had he not stated two months after the war began that "It is certainly desirable that we should remain entirely neutral"? When he made the sudden change he did not even have the sinking of the "Lusitania" for a reason.

The most charitable thing that may be said of Mr. Roosevelt's position in the war controversy is that it was both unintelligible and inconsistent.

The arguments that Mr. Roosevelt indulged in when he became a pro-ally partisan were typical of the arguments that were used from time to time by those who insisted that America should enter the war; and the basis for these arguments, might well be casually examined in this chapter.

It was urged against Germany that she had been preparing for forty years, a great fighting machine, which was deemed a menace to the peace of the world, and which had been assembled for the purpose of world-conquest.

During the period of the war, and since, thousands of people in a parrot-like way, voiced their sentiments regarding Germany's war guilt by repeating the threadbare remark: "That Germany for fifty years was preparing for a world war." So far as these parrot-like individuals are concerned, this thoughtless and superficial view settled the whole matter, without

regard to any other consideration. The following consideration of the subject is not intended for the benefit of these parrots—for parrots never learn—but rather for the rising generation who may approach this great subject without prejudice, and only in quest of the truth.

For instance, these human parrots were not told by Mr. Roosevelt, or Mr. Root, or Mr. Choate, or the paid press, that Premier Asquith of England in January, 1914, more than six months before the war began, delivered his soul of the following regarding Germany's military preparedness: "The German army is vital to the very life and independence of the German nation, surrounded as Germany is by other nations each of which possesses armies almost as powerful as her own."

Mr. Lloyd George expressed practically the same view. Surely these men are in a position to qualify as experts in these matters; and their opinion on this subject should receive more weight than that of a million ordinary propaganda mongers.

Now, let us examine the question consistently. Germany has been accused of preparedness. Is that a crime? Let us see. Mr. Roosevelt has preached preparedness—so has Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George. They have claimed that if a nation makes itself formidable no one will wantonly attack that nation. Therefore, if that rule be true, how could Germany render herself free from attack without preparedness? Or, is it that preparedness in Britain and the United States is a national virtue, and in Germany a crime?

But it has been said that Germany had been preparing for nearly fifty years for the World War—with that very definite thing always in

view. According to this tribe of critics (and their number is legion), Germany immediately after 1871 began her plans for world conquest. It is held by military authorities that owing to new inventions and general deterioration, war equipment becomes to a great degree obsolete every ten years. If the claim of Germany's enemies be true, namely, that she had been preparing to cast her thunderbolt for forty-four years—then it must be admitted that Germany prepared at least four times during that time, and saw her stupendous exertions come to naught.

The fact is that there never has been a year since 1880 that Germany, relatively speaking, has not been in a position to carry on war against France and Russia as successfully as in 1914; and there were several occasions—if world conquest were her aim—that she could have started with twice the probability of success as in 1914—notably at the time when Great Britain was engaged in crushing the Boer Republic, and also when Russia's fighting force was grappling with Japan on the shores of the Pacific.

If we admit that preparedness was not a crime on Germany's part, and if we agree with Mr. Roosevelt that Germany, due to untoward circumstances, was justified in seeking a passage through Belgium, then it is difficult to see what reason Mr. Roosevelt, for instance, should have had for the condemnation of Germany and the espousal of the cause of the Entente, particularly during 1915. It may be ventured that the sinking of the "Lusitania" afforded a reason. Owing to not knowing the truth, there is no question that thousands were incensed at Germany for this act; but certainly Mr. Roosevelt,

or Mr. Choate, or Mr. Root must have been in possession of the knowledge that the "Lusitania" was a munition ship; and that her vast cargo of explosives was thought to have rendered her safe from attack owing to the presence of women and children on board. Had not Great Britain held that the necessities of war made it imperative that she starve Germany into submission—knowing that thousands of innocent women and children would be the victims of that procedure? Germany, in order to save herself from destruction, was compelled to announce that she would sink any ship, no matter of what character, that contained war material which would ultimately be used to slaughter her soldiers. In each case came the slaughter of the innocents.

But how could any sane man, much less one possessing the mental acumen of Mr. Roosevelt, find it in his heart to condemn one country, under these conditions, and laud the other, is beyond human understanding. In looking at this question now, with authentic knowledge in our possession regarding the "Lusitania," we are at a loss to characterize as the most infamous those war promoters who sought to safeguard the shipments of munitions under cover of innocent women and children, and the government officials, high and low, who persistently falsified the facts by declaring that no munitions were in the hold of the "Lusitania."

As time went on, Mr. Roosevelt became more and more belligerent; more anti-German and quite pro-British. He now condemns Germany's preparedness, although he recommends extreme preparedness for America; he roundly denounces the invasion of Belgium and characterizes the sinking of the "Lusitania" as butchery;

he can see nothing good in Germany, and holds Great Britain up, not only as a model, but as a savior of mankind.

Mr. Roosevelt's course in the war was typical of that of many leading men, and no doubt influenced public opinion in America, and to some considerable extent throughout the world. It is, therefore, quite interesting to discover, or to attempt to discover, what produced so decided a change in Mr. Roosevelt's war views within a period of six months from September, 1914. The only outstanding event during that time was the sinking of the "Lusitania," a subject we have just discussed.

For instance, on September 28th, 1914, two months after the invasion of Belgium, and while the papers were filled with accounts of German atrocities, we find Mr. Roosevelt delivering himself of the following, as published in the Outlook:

"I am not passing judgment on Germany's action. . . . I admire and respect the German people. I am proud of the German blood in my veins. When a nation feels that the issue of a contest in which, from whatever reason, it finds itself engaged will be national life or death, it is inevitable that it should act so as to save itself from death and to perpetuate its life. . . . What has been done in Belgium has been done in accordance with what the Germans unquestionably sincerely believed to be the course of conduct necessitated by Germany's struggle for life."

After reading this paragraph, written as it was at one of the most important periods of the war, and taking this in conjunction with Mr. Roosevelt's course later, we are compelled to add to the crime of insincerity that of another, which is best conveyed by the luminous words of

Lincoln:—"The man who will not consider both sides of a question is dishonest."

That there were two sides to the German invasion of Belgium, two sides to the sinking of the "Lusitania," two sides to atrocities, two sides to the submarine controversy, two sides to Germany's preparedness, and, finally two sides to the guilt of starting the war Mr. Roosevelt, of all men, should have known.

Yet in the face of these facts, Mr. Roosevelt took an uncompromising stand against Germany, practically turning face-around from the position he took during the first months of the conflict.

No finer tribute could be paid any people than that paid the Germans by Mr. Roosevelt, as heretofore quoted. No doubt he would have rendered the same generous tribute to the people of England or of France. It may be urged that it was German leadership that he suddenly feared. If so, he was still on unproven ground. For nearly the whole lifetime of Theodore Roosevelt, was not Germany's record for keeping the peace "as clean as a hound's tooth;" while the hands of her opponents were constantly, in season and out of season, steeped in human blood.

Take the record of Great Britain, whose cause he found in his heart to espouse, constantly at war, stifling in the most cruel and bloody way any opposition to her imperial will.

How could Mr. Roosevelt with a clear conscience anticipate German world rule, of which he had no positive knowledge, and overlook the brutal world-rule of Great Britain, existing under his own eyes, as exemplified by Ireland and India? Did he not see the people of Ireland held by Great Britain as a subject and conquered

people, by no principle known to individual, national, international or universal law? Did he not realize that Ireland was entitled to her full and complete freedom on the two great principles underlying all true nationality—namely, the ethnological, as well as the geographical? Did he not know that India was kept in complete bondage by Great Britain, in opposition to the national aspirations of three hundred millions of people whose aspirations were just as legitimate as the national aspirations of Roosevelt himself? Had he any more reason to fear “German character” when it comes to world domination—if it ever were intended to come to world domination—than the “British character” which Mr. Roosevelt’s fellow Nobel prize man—the sweet singer of India—Dr. Tagore, was compelled reluctantly to describe as follows:

“Ever since my arrival in London I have been so much surrounded by crowds of people that correspondence has become well-nigh impossible. From all I see and hear I now understand one thing very clearly, more clearly than ever before, that at present we are fully and fatally under the heels of the carnivorous English. They are overbearingly powerful. . . . At the time of the frightful English atrocities in the Punjab last year I thought that they might have been purely accidental, due mainly to grotesque panic. But from the official reports of the parliamentary debates on the subject, I now thoroughly realize that that savagely callous brutality permeates every particle of blood that flows in their veins, and is indelibly ingrained in the very marrow of their bones. Some of these human beings here have even admired the blood-soaked feats of General Dyer as ‘splendid

brutality.' In this connection I have been more than shocked at the revolting signs of blood-thirsty ferocity amongst even the women of England. The time has come when we must be thoroughly convinced that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, to expect from the British government and the British people. To expect anything from them is to insult one's own self. So long we were under the hypnotic spell of the seductive phantoms of the hope that they will give and we receive. They were to be the givers and we the beggars. But we are lucky indeed that they are not capable of making gifts. For gifts ruin the weak sooner and easier than deceit. If we were strong, if we were powerful, then acceptance of gifts could not make us small, could not shrink our souls. Every great nation accepts gifts from others. It is like accepting taxes. The one who has always gets. The king ever gets, but the beggar never. So even death is better for us than to extend our hands to receive gifts from such a people as the British."

The above is true of British leadership as now constituted, as constituted in 1914 when the great war was staged, and as has been constituted for centuries. Yet Mr. Roosevelt, by some peculiar mental process (if we exclude political ambition) brought himself to see that all right was on Britain's side, and all wrong on the side of Germany.

In judging between these nations, had Mr. Roosevelt forgotten recent history—had he forgotten that when America was struggling to free herself from the shame of slavery that Great Britain, in every conceivable way, stifled her efforts? It is unnecessary here to recall these things; but it is proper to mention that

Great Britain refused to loan America money on that occasion—refused even to list American bonds. And it remained for Germany to make the necessary loan of millions to this country. Not only this, but Germany contributed in many ways to relieve America from the results of her devastating civil war. If Mr. Roosevelt forgot the kindness of Germany in 1863, Mr. Lincoln's administration did not, for we find Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, instructing the American Minister at Berlin as follows:—"You will not hesitate to express assurance of the constant good will of the United States towards the king and the people who dealt with us in good faith and great friendship during the great trials through which we have passed."

In implicitly following British leadership in the war, and urging his fellow citizens to that course, was not Mr. Roosevelt losing sight of a very important event in recent Anglo-American history—an event which showed clearly the character of not the "Beast of Berlin," but rather the beast of London? Did he forget when the British lion sought to press her bloody paws on the throat of Venezuela and was only driven from her prey by Grover Cleveland, who was compelled to deliver what was practically a war ultimatum before the beast was driven off?

Leopards cannot change their spots, but wolves have been known to appear in sheep's clothing—but usually it is children, not men, who are deceived thereby.

But how clearly even the children of America were made to see Germany's ulterior intentions and her manifest guilt and her unmistakable program for world conquest, by such men as Mr. Roosevelt! Did not her national motto—her slogan—"Deutschland Ueber Alles," prove it?

How forcibly, how timely, and how intelligently this phase of German's apparent guilt was brought home to the American people! "Deutschland above all" was certainly ominous and Hunnish; and the future historians when they compare this evil slogan with those employed by Great Britain and America will undoubtedly offhand be convinced of Germany's guilt, and they will then understand what induced many Americans to enter the contest against her! Compare, if you will, that modest, ethical, considerate, and Christian slogan of Christian America—"America first;" or that equally modest and Christian of our late ally—"Rule Britannia."

It is reputed that a "popular divine" of Winnipeg, Canada, declared from the pulpit that an Ally uniform would be a direct passport to heaven. If there were any question regarding this, there certainly should have been none had Great Britain and America taken the precaution to have their mottoes or slogans emblazoned on their soldiers' uniforms—"America First" and "Rule Britannia." As the war made the portals of Heaven a very busy place—this would have facilitated matters, making it more easy for St. Peter to separate the sheep from the goats.

To narrate the shortcomings of Theodore Roosevelt, now, to some of the American people would be as cruel and heartless as to tell children that there is no Santa Claus. Nationally, we have not yet reached the level of a normal sense in this country. We are young yet; and at times somewhat childlike. We still demand a hero, or a victim. The only difference is, we demand a live victim and are content with a dead hero.

Theodore Roosevelt realized that for a time he possessed the love and affection of the American people perhaps to a greater degree than did any other American in our history; but he afterwards saw that love turn to cold ashes—and that long before his untimely end. America's love for Theodore Roosevelt was not constant—it burst into a flame and then died down—almost going out—and now we see the afterglow, stimulated by memory which recalls nothing but virtue, exalted manhood and nobility of soul. In the presence of the fresh broken earth, all else is forgotten.

Now that Theodore Roosevelt has passed into history, his life belongs to mankind. Like all great lives, it is an inheritance—but one that must be appraised. Its sentimental value must pass away in the presence of cold, calculating, stern analysis.

I do not purpose judging Roosevelt the man, or Roosevelt the statesman by his world-war record. All great men have their inherent weaknesses. The larger the diamond, the more liable we are to find a flaw. Many are the things that wreck virtue. The blazing jewel, the sweet nectar of flattery, place and power—all these sway the human heart and deflect it from its true orbit.

Roosevelt was possessed, as perhaps no other American, with an overpowering sense of the divine right to rule. When he was relegated to private life it was as though a huge dynamo was detached from the intricate machinery of American life. When the war came on, Roosevelt, like a mighty engine, puffing and panting, was on a side-track.

Wilson's neutrality was Roosevelt's apparent opportunity. Was not eighty per cent of

America, Entente in sympathy, and did they not need a leader? Thus reasoning, Roosevelt soon was on his way.

But America, although sympathetic, had not yet lost the sense of discernment. They saw Roosevelt, overnight, turn from neutral grey to partisan red. How could thinking people reconcile his burning zeal (when but a day previous he was the neutral) and that in the face of recent events—such as the recent swallowing of Egypt by Great Britain, the invasion of neutral China by the Allied forces, the coercion of Greece and the ruthless destruction of neutral commerce, not mentioning the vaunted program of his new-found friends which had for its infamous object the starvation of the women and children of an entire nation?

This chapter has to do quite as much with insincerity as with guilt. In reviewing this question of insincerity, one cannot overlook the war activities of such an outstanding figure as the late Joseph H. Choate.

When the war began, Mr. Choate has passed the allotted years of life, was rich in human experience, possessed the power as few others of his countrymen possessed, of not only analyzing but weighing human motives and human forces as well. When the war broke out, Mr. Choate was United States Minister to Great Britain. It will be remembered that the United States immediately declared its neutrality. But Mr. Choate was anything but neutral. Even so early as October 8, 1914, we find him writing an introduction for a book by Professor Cramb (Professor of Modern History, Queen's College, London), entitled "Germany and England." This book was made up of a series of lectures delivered by Professor Cramb which

sought to show that Germany was shaping herself for a war on Great Britain. Mr. Choate in this introduction warmly supports Great Britain, decries Germany, and among other things, says: "It is truly an imperial contest between the German Empire of the future, that is to be won only by war, and the British Empire, whose chief interests now and in all the future is peace throughout the world."

That is very fine and sounds exceedingly well, but Mr. Choate in a former page has set forth Britain's title to the great empire (one-fifth the world's surface), which she now seeks to hold—in peace. Mr. Choate clearly shows that the peace that Great Britain now seeks is the peace that the robber, content now to hold his ill-gotten gains, desires. Mr. Choate remarks: "Since the days of Frederick the Great, while England, largely by force of arms, has extended her imperial power all over the world, Germany has remained cooped up within her narrow boundaries, with inadequate access to the sea, and without room for her rapidly increasing population."

So Mr. Choate, already on borrowed time, is willing (God only knows why) to stultify himself by coming to the defense of a people who created an empire by force of arms and who now hold title to much of this empire by force of arms; and he now joins with those who decry as criminal the aspirations of another people for legitimate world expansion—an expansion that has become necessary by reason of increased population. And Mr. Choate had forgotten that these people who sought legitimate expansion (if they did seek expansion) received the following certificate of character from the same Professor Cramb whose book Mr.

Choate lands. Professor Cramb says: "And let me say with regard to Germany that of all England's enemies, she is by far the greatest; and by 'greatness' I mean not merely magnitude, nor her millions of soldiers, her millions of inhabitants, I mean grandeur of soul."

* * * * *

The leaders of the Entente Allies and their associates accomplished that which they claimed would make the world a decent place to live in—namely the crushing of Germany. The peoples of the world for two long years have been looking for the promised healing, peace—but no one has discovered any signs of healing or any evidences of the coming of that new world for which sacrifices of blood and treasure, without parallel, were made.

Could the deluded peoples of France, Great Britain and America have imagined that the following verse should be written two years after the close of the war—after the "great victory" had been won—regarding one of their sons who was given as a sacrifice, and these lines written by an Englishman to the "Unknown Soldier" whom England endeavored to honor by placing his remains alongside of her Immortals.

"The Unknown Man"

(It is proposed to bury an "Unknown Man" in Westminster Abbey, on November 11, as the typical hero and patriot):

"Unknown he died; unknowing lived, maybe;
The dupe of men more worldly-wise than he.
He knew not by what craft he was betrayed
To fight in wars that selfish hearts had made;
Nor knew the cause of that curst strife, nor
knew

It was his very brother-man he slew.
Now slain, the folk who sent him to his doom
Acclaim him Hero, mock with pompous tomb,
On Unknown Man their idle grief bestowing:
Must we not rather mourn the Man Unknown-
ing?"

There is not a statesman in London or Paris or Washington, who does not know that the attempt at the strangulation of Germany, as embodied in the Treaty of Versailles is one of the outstanding causes of world unrest today; and has been the principal factor in keeping world wounds open and inflamed, and therefore rendering them incurable. This knowledge is of no avail to mankind generally for the reason that it is secretly and cowardly held and entertained, and scarcely whispered even to intimates and associates less the holders of these views might be deemed pro-German. The false propaganda forces which were let loose in order to win the war for the Allies have created a condition of mind generally which renders it inexpedient, not to say dangerous, for world leaders to tell the plain truth, now that truth is so necessary, so essential and so vital.

Lloyd George knows, Clemenceau knows, and Wilson, if he be in full possession of his faculties, knows, that before we can have world peace and world health the evil that they perpetrated in Paris must be destroyed—that the poisons that they injected into world wounds must be removed.

Neither the peace of the victors nor the league of the conquerors can stand. The sober, reasserted conscience of America, for instance, has unmistakably announced that it will have nothing to do with these unclean things. The

toilers of all lands are awakening to the enormity of this capitalistic and imperialistic crime.

In this chapter, I propose calling attention, briefly, to those immediate things which must be done, or more strictly speaking, undone, before we can even approach a condition of peace which shall contain any of the elements of permanency.

In seeking to trace world discontent to its source—or more strictly speaking, sources—it may be of some purpose, among other things, to mention the case of Russia as proof of the condition of mind of present world statesmanship by which we are clearly shown that evil passions have taken possession of world leadership, and the actions of these leaders differ in no degree from their predecessors of one hundred or five hundred years ago. It is the same old story of tyranny and revenge which has blinded all of them to everything excepting an insatiable desire to feed on the morbid pleasures that emanate from their power to inflict punishment and execute vainglorious passions.

Never have we had so striking and so illuminating examples of history repeating itself as in some of the main features of the late war. We have many exact reproductions of actions and events of bygone days—illustrating to the full that human nature (in so far as world leadership is concerned) does not change—that even under the skin of a Wilson you find flowing the blood of a George the Third.

The dastardly treatment of Russia by Great Britain, France and America is but a repetition of the inhuman and illogical treatment of France by Great Britain in 1793; when as a result (and for no other reason) of the destruction of the French monarchy, Great Britain cut off all diplomatic relations with France, laying

the foundation for a hateful struggle of twenty-five years' duration, and which cost thousands of lives and millions in treasure, not counting hatred, which even a century and a quarter has not obliterated.

France, at that time, in no way had attacked England, as at the present time Russia cannot be charged with attacking either Great Britain, France or America, or in fact, any of her neighbors. It was simply a case of Great Britain interfering in the internal concerns of a foreign country, without the slightest shadow of justification. George III and his ministers did not like the form of government that France had adopted (as England, France and America to-day do not like the form of government Russia has adopted) in the place of a monarchy. The war with France was brought on to discourage, if not kill, the progress of democratic institutions in Europe. It was a war of opinions, not one of either territory or other aggrandizement.

In order to carry out this wicked program, every force, subterfuge and expedient known to the tyrant was adopted; as every force, mean, low and diabolical has been resorted to by England, France and America, in order to strangle Russia, while that unfortunate country is undergoing and suffering the pangs of a new birth.

The great war was a tragedy without parallel. History will never apportion the exact guilt to those responsible for this human convulsion. The same thing cannot be said regarding the responsibility for the two sickening tragedies that are now being enacted before our very eyes—enacted, not in the moment of passion, but in cold blood, namely, the attempt at the

strangulation of the German people by means of the so-called peace treaty; and the suffocation of newborn Russia, at the hands of the same criminal leadership.

Fortunately, there are evidences on every hand, that the conscience of mankind is awakening to the appalling heinousness of these crimes. America was the first to repudiate the whole nefarious business; and consign to oblivion the man who so grossly misrepresented them, and misled them as well.

Now that America has spoken and given her verdict on the war, the peace, and Wilson (not speaking of little Greece that has just repudiated Allied leadership and all it stands for), we may now hope for the beginning of the work of real world reconstruction.

Before closing this chapter I will attempt to outline a few important things which must be done in order that the débris may be cleared up and a firm foundation for universal peace established.

The first consideration of the subject of world reconstruction will of course be a scrutiny of the League of Nations. It is unnecessary to state that no world reconstruction can be accomplished without a loyal and sincere co-operation by the whole family of nations.

We have, at present, a so-called League of Nations; but to all intents and purposes it is only a league of the conquerors—a league, primarily to conserve what the Allies won as a result of the war.

If a league of nations is desirable, it should not be a league of the conquerors or an association (with America's aid) to conserve that which was won by the victors. It should be, primarily, organized for the purpose of pro-

moting peace throughout the world on a basis of fair play and justice. In that case the Peace Settlement should have been arrived at and ratified by the whole league and not by the victors. Such a conclusion should have been reached in an open world court in which Germany should have been heard, and in which the question of general guilt should have been passed upon, and not behind closed doors where only one side could be heard.

Owing to the barbaric injustice of the peace terms it is evident to a novice that there is no incentive for the German people to get to work. Under the terms, Germany is compelled to give all her savings for the next thirty years to her enemies; and in addition to this, she must live on one-half what she formerly lived on, giving the balance to the victors. But this is not all. Germany cannot get financial assistance from the outside world owing to the fact that any increase that might result from the use of foreign capital will be appropriated by the Reparation Commission; and no benefit will go to the present generation of Germans, much less being left in a position to return the borrowed money with interest.

The sooner the world looks this hopeless condition squarely in the face, the better for the world (and by that I include Great Britain and France).

Without delay, a world court should be established and its first business should be to inquire into war causes, war guilt, and individual responsibility; and then decide on what reparation, if any.

If the Entente Allies show a disposition to take a sane view of the situation and will be content to abide by the decision of a full world

court, and if they show an earnest desire to aid in true world reconstruction, I would recommend that the United States cancel her ten billion dollar claim against Europe. Broadly speaking, if Germany is in a position to pay, and is compelled to pay thirty billion dollars to the Allies, then it is certain that Great Britain and France are in a position to pay ten billion to America; but if one cancels, all should cancel.

There are a number of appealing reasons why the United States should cancel this ten billion dollar debt. (1) If (for world peace) cancellations become the order of the day. (2) If, as Roosevelt and other leaders claimed, be true, that Great Britain and France from the opening of the war were heroically fighting America's battles and making her secure from future attack by Germany, then this ten billion dollars, and much more, should have been contributed to the Allies as just compensation. (3) This ten billion dollars scarcely represents the blood money profits of America during the first two years of the struggle. (4) The repayment of so vast a sum will go far to impoverish Europe and will add nothing to our own material comforts or necessities. Europe cannot pay us in money. And even if she did, that would not add to our real wealth, as in order to get value for it, we would have to re-spend it again in Europe. Europe will have to pay us in products. For years to come Europe will be purchasing more from us than we will purchase from her. Therefore, this ten billion dollars will be increasing yearly and may reach the grand total of twenty billion dollars before it is liquidated. But what will happen when Europe decides to pay this claim? We will have to accept billions

of dollars of her products in excess of our exports. That might all be very good if each individual American received an equal share of such importation—but that would not be the case. The fact is that while this debt would be in process of repayment (in products), American factories to that extent would be idle, and our workingmen out of work. If we resort to a high protective tariff, for relief, then we can keep these products out; but if we do, then how is Europe to pay us? Under the world's present economic system, immense foreign credits such as these, particularly by an exporting nation, should be considered a liability instead of a true asset. The difficulty regarding these colossal debts is that they are generally not paid by the generation contracting them, but left to oncoming generations—with perhaps the exception of the interest. The hatred of the creditor by the debtor is ever present—as it will be in this case—let us make no mistake about that. There is not an American who will lose a meal by the cancellation of this debt; but there are millions in Europe who will go hungry while it is being paid. And I will declare further, that if America insists on its re-payment, owing to our peculiar economic system, thousands will go hungry in this country, by being thrown out of work, while Europe sends the result of her labor to cover the payment.

From the very beginning of the war America held the key to peace. That key was economic. She failed to use it; and was content to revel in blood money profits. She still holds an economic key which may yet unlock the door to peace. Will she use it?

CHAPTER VII

THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

Strange though it may appear, the great mass of the peoples of the world, vaguely fought for ideals. This is quite as true of Germany as of Britain, or America. No country had a monopoly of spirit, or good intention. The peoples of no country, the day before the war began, wanted the property of another. They fought, first of all, and mainly, against the possibility of foreign aggression—for home and fireside. In pursuit of this, the Germans felt that they had to invade Belgium and attack France; and later the American people, with much less reason, brought themselves to believe that they were called upon to sacrifice their sons, on foreign soil, 3,000 miles from home, in order to protect their country from some future attack, vague and ill-founded though the possibility of that might be. First of all, the laudable ideal for which they all fought, as has been stated, was for the preservation and the protection of home and country. As the conflict progressed, new ideals, particularly in America, were injected; and soon the warriors on both sides began to feel that they were engaged in a sacred cause—even to the hastening of Christ's Kingdom on Earth.

To-day, after the conflict has subsided, the German, still confident of the righteousness of his position, is quite at a loss to interpret this so-called decree of Providence, and on looking over the whole field, is beginning to suspect that it is not a final decree, or even a decree at

all, but only a painful chapter in a great volume, a volume that contains many chapters; and perhaps in the last chapter the final decree shall be set forth, even in words that all nations may understand, words that will burn like fire into the hearts and conscience of mankind.

And what of the victors? How do they fare in mind and estate since the war closed?

Compare to-day, if you will, with Armistice Day, that riotous culmination of brute force, that orgy of sensuous emotions, that heathen war-dance of the nations around the flickering embers of a dying civilization, that fitting culmination of lies, deceit, hatred, malice and blood-lust; and then ask yourself why all this change in spirit, if not in understanding?

Was there ever since the world began so complete a disillusionment? Was ever bread in the hand, so mysteriously turned to stone, or the rainbow of promise turned to a thunder-cloud or gold to dross, as since one-half of the world, by physical force, successfully crushed and enslaved the other half of God's creation—God's handiwork—God's own sons and daughters.

To-day, the world sees nothing but the triumph of brute force and its evil fruits—a curse alike to the victor as well as the vanquished.

As to whether Britain's starvation methods of warfare or Wilson's ideality contributed most to break down German resistance and compelled her to surrender, I will not here discuss; but I will venture to say, that history will bear me out, that the President's pronouncements betrayed the German people, and wittingly or unwittingly assisted in causing them to be delivered, body and soul, into the hands of the most rapacious and soulless diplomatic

robbers that ever imposed their lustful will on a vanquished people.

The American President transformed himself into the serpent, not a serpent with two eyes, but with fourteen, each of which he used not only to charm, but to captivate. He crawled into the German home, where poverty, destitution and despair reigned supreme; and he promised better things; peace of mind and body, and that beyond even the understanding; he crawled into the trenches and seduced by his honeyed words and fair promises the scarred grim veterans, who stood for months and years immovable, before the onslaught of a united world.

He promised them bread—but he gave them a stone—he held out hope—but left them in mortification and despair.

In no sense, or in no particular, is the so-called Peace Treaty in accordance with Mr. Wilson's promises and stipulations—promises that were acquiesced in by Britain and France, and upon which Germany consented to lay down her arms.

It must be remembered that the Germans did not surrender unconditionally; but expressed themselves as willing to end the war on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. In order that there might be no misunderstanding regarding this, the President addressed a note to Germany, asking them to make it plain, beyond conjecture, that they would lay down their arms and end the struggle on the basis of his Fourteen Points. Germany made it clear, in her reply, that this was her understanding and intention. It will be remembered that up to this time Britain and France had allowed the world to understand that Mr. Wilson was the

accredited and official spokesman for those forces which were at war on Germany. Now that Germany was about to capitulate (and that due in a large measure to the operation on the German mind of the Fourteen Points), Great Britain and France immediately insisted on adding two new conditions for the cessation of hostilities; one of which completely nullified Mr. Wilson's "Freedom of the Seas" stipulation, and the other had to do with reparation, which subsequently proved another name for indemnities, by which the Allies were able to crush Germany, both politically and commercially.

It is true, that the task of putting Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points into a concrete agreement would be almost as impossible as it would be to harness a rainbow, or set forth in terms of business the Milky Way; yet after all, no well-intentioned man, even one without experience in diplomacy, could fail to understand, not only the substance, but the spirit of Mr. Wilson's deliverances. Friend and foe alike knew that these stood for the rights of man; for better world relations, and for the exaltation of justice. Lloyd George undoubtedly understood Wilson's message to mankind. The force of these utterances may even at least have temporarily punctured the skin and entered the dry bones of Clemenceau—that evil spirit of a dead past.

Yet, Wilson's was the light that failed—failed in the darkest and most tragic hour since the creation of the world—at the crushing and dismemberment of a great nation and a great people.

All will agree that the representatives of the nations assembled in Paris had the greatest

opportunity of any group of men during all time, of placing the affairs of the world on a sound and enduring basis and laying the foundation for an international peace and good will which would stand the test of time. Then, what were the causes which produced so unhappy an ending to that which promised so much for mankind? There were many contributing factors; the chief of which was the helpless and impotent condition of Germany owing to the complete and overwhelming victory of the Allies, due to American intervention. With all resistance broken down, a one-sided peace is inevitable. A victor, in that case, may go any distance that hate and greed may dictate. An unbeaten army in the field although incapable of victory, makes for compromise—and compromise in nine cases out of ten more nearly balances justice than a complete victory of one of the participants, particularly if it be a physical victory.

Mr. Wilson's original formula, "Peace without Victory," would have prevented this peace catastrophe, had it been logically and consistently adhered to; but peace by victory, not only placed Germany in a position where she could not resist injustice, but it also placed Mr. Wilson and his precious Fourteen Points in just as impotent a condition as Germany; for the reason that with Germany out of the way and not to be feared, America was of no further use to Britain and France—a fact which the President soon discovered when the Versailles Conference got down to serious, practical business.

Being apprehensive regarding placing both Germany and America in the power of the Allies, under conditions named, I wrote the Administration and leading members of Congress

regarding our danger; pointing out that we were valued by Britain and France only so long as we were needed by them and useful to them, and if we allowed Germany to be beaten before definite war settlement conditions were arrived at, America would have no influence at the Peace Table, and that the result would be a peace settlement that would be both cruel and unjust, out of which would eventually come other wars.

In addition to this I communicated to Congress and the Administration, that which I conceived to be the spirit in which the Peace Representatives should approach those questions upon the solution of which the future peace of the world depended. The following statements of the case, as well as the contention contained in the preceding paragraph, were swept aside particularly by the Administration, as being pro-German propaganda—propaganda calculated to produce dissension between America and “our loyal and honorable allies.” I will leave it to my readers whether or not time and subsequent events have or have not proven the truth of my contention. The following is what I conceived to be the spirit in which the Peace Representatives should have approached their task:

* * * * *

“The great War Drama is rapidly nearing its close. The world is turning its eyes towards universal peace. Between the final act of war and the dawn of a world peace lies a period of neither war nor peace, a period of uncertainty and doubt on the one hand, and faith and hope on the other. That period, the most momentous in all history, will be spanned by the great conference of the representatives of the nations

assembled for the purpose of adjusting present differences, and formulating rules for the guidance of nations in reference to their conduct—one toward the other. On the wisdom, justice and moderation of this great assembly depends in a large measure the future misery or happiness of mankind.

The labors of this International Conference may come under two headings (1) the adjusting of all differences between the Central Powers and the Entente Allies, (2) the adjustment of differences that may exist between nations, without regard to how they were grouped during the war, and also the consideration of rules for the conduct of nations, naming penalties for the infraction of these rules, together with the adoption of means for the enforcement of decisions.

There are those who contend that the time is not yet ripe for the formation of a League of Nations. Whether that claim can be substantiated or not, depends largely on how the Conference acquits itself in the first business before it, namely, the policy pursued in the settlement of the present war. If the rewards of the victor be exacted—if Christian diplomacy has no part in bringing to a close and settling this contest, if an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth policy still prevails, then the hope for future world peace is based on shifting sands. On the contrary, if the meeting of this great body shall mark the beginning of a new era, registering the hour on the dial of time when old things shall have passed away, these men who represent the nations must be imbued with the spirit of the great Spaniard, when he proclaimed, "Whereas all the attributes of God are equal, His mercy will always be more dear to mankind than His justice."

The settlement with Germany will at the same time constitute the least and the most important work of the Conference, the least in comparison with those transcendent questions which have to do with the very destiny of nations, and the most important as showing whether those who lead mankind and speak for them can rise above anger, malice, revenge and self-interest, thereby convincing the world that a League of Nations is not a dream.

It is indeed unfortunate, that a World Conference whose findings and recommendations should be free from bias, should assemble so soon following a war that has left so many unhealed wounds and so many burning hearts. Conditions do not make for the purest and highest order of judgment. However, the situation is to a certain extent saved by the prominent part that America will be called upon to play in the Council of the Nations. America's position is unique. Although she has been a leading factor in deciding this contest, she has been called upon to sacrifice less blood and treasure than any of the contestants. On this account, America will approach the Council Table in better temper and in a more judicial frame of mind than may be expected of her associates.

It may well be assumed in advance that the American representatives will insist on just terms as between the Central Powers and the Entente Allies. In determining a "just settlement" they in all likelihood, among other things, will take into consideration the following outstanding circumstances and conditions: (1) That a large portion of the German population had no lust for conquest, and had no hand in willing this war. That they were kept in ignorance regarding the true object of their rulers,

and that they were constantly misinformed, through false propaganda, as to the true situation in all its relations. Therefore, any hardships or extreme measures that might be directed at German leaders will, without doubt, fall on the innocent in greater numbers than on the guilty. (2) Inasmuch as this is, in all probability, the last onslaught of autocracy against the rising and united forces of a revitalized democracy, and that a new era is about to be ushered in, they will on this account temper justice with moderation if not with mercy, especially when they remember that nearly all considerable nations represented at the great Council Table have grown to their present proportion by conquests more or less ambitious, if not lustful in their nature. (3) That any peace terms or settlement forced revengefully or arbitrarily on a great people will not and never can be permanent, as every nation has its pride and national honor. (4) America has very properly insisted, before meeting the German representatives, that they inaugurate a constitutional government in the Empire, or at least one in which the will of the people is supreme. That stipulation carries with it the supposition that the German people are capable of exercising this right and will welcome this gift of Freedom. The further conclusion is logical, namely, that had all power been vested in the German people in August, 1914, and the people worked in harmony with the peoples of the other nations, this war would never have darkened the pages of history. If we refuse to admit the truth of this conclusion, we then must confess that our insistence regarding the transfer of the supreme power from a select few to the shoulders of all the people, was and is, a vain thing.

Now, after these terrible pangs of Liberty, if a new Germany has been born and a new democracy created, free from the shackles of autocracy, our representatives, it is hoped, will not be found assisting in substituting the chains of the conqueror for those of the Kaiser."

* * * * *

It is possible that Mr. Wilson did not assist in substituting "the chains of the conqueror for those of the Kaiser," but he certainly assisted through his words and by the armies of which he was Commander-in-Chief, in delivering the German people, helpless and hopeless, into the hands of those who, with cunning and deceit, diabolically forged chains and shackles around their victims, placing them in as complete bondage as those of any nation, or people, or tribe, in the world's darkest past. The peace that has been consummated—is not only the peace of the savage—but added to this the cunning of that soulless product of our so-called civilization, that cynical servant of kings and courts, that creature who is devoid of every generous impulse—the modern diplomat.

We may take the generous view of Mr. Wilson's part in the peace tragedy—that he did not personally assist in putting the shackles of the conqueror on the German people; but what must we think of the moral make-up of the man, not to speak of the mental, when we find him justifying this Versailles monstrosity, and blandly telling the world that it was conceived in the spirit of his Fourteen Points and born of Justice.

Manifestly, we have here a case of mental collapse or one of moral reversal, or of both. Time alone may tell.

It is not theories we are now dealing with; it

is facts and consequences. It is important that we know not only the meaning of the Fourteen Points but also their purpose. As to their meaning no one was in doubt. If there ever was any doubt, it was as to their sincerity. They did not make an appeal to the intellect alone, but to the heart and conscience as well. They had to do with feeling, as well as with understanding. They promised life, not death; freedom, not slavery; a golden sunrise, not the lowering shadows of the night; peace, good-will, and "charity for all, and malice toward none."

Their purpose was well understood by all. It was the pen working in conjunction with the sword. The psychologists of the Allies built more on Mr. Wilson's declarations than on a thousand belching cannon. He was a host in himself. His apparent spirit of fairness and conciliation, his assurances, his sympathy—all were calculated to alienate the German people from their rulers and place them unreservedly under the protection of that great new World Leader, who, far from the strife of Europe, had sent forth a message that had echoed in the hearts of all mankind.

Mr. Wilson encouraged the people of Germany to rebel against their government—tacitly upholding the sacred and inalienable right of revolution. This they did. Thus the pen and the sword, working harmoniously together, supplemented by starvation, brought German leaders to ask a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of ending the war on the basis of Mr. Wilson's promises and conditions, as embodied in the Fourteen Points.

Before an agreement would be entered into which should have for a basis the Fourteen Points, the Germans were informed by Mr. Wil-

son that they would have to (1) dethrone the Kaiser (2) establish a representative government in Germany (3) evacuate all occupied territory (4) render themselves impotent and helpless by disarming.

This they complied with in every detail—implicitly relying on Mr. Wilson's word and protection.

And now let us see what they got.

It is not my purpose to attempt a minute dissection or a critical analysis of this so-called peace agreement, and what it means for mankind. That task I will leave to those who possess, to a much greater degree than I, the divine gift of seeing into the future and measuring consequences.

As I approach this subject, it is with feelings of my own littleness and impotency, combined with those of pity, sorrow and contempt. When one views the enormity of this crime—it is not, as Milton says, to “justify the ways of God to men,” but how are we to justify the ways of these men to God?

You ask, what will be the consequences of this peace? You might as well ask the scientist to name the consequences that would come from the implanting of the germs of a nameless disease in the human body. Alas, not one generation, but many would be required to render the sum total of the misery, suffering and degradation that will follow. Not the first victim alone would make the sum total; but years hence, the babbling idiot, the dwarfed or deformed creature, the innocent child with a diseased and polluted body, would form a part of an appalling whole, of the sum of the inevitable consequences. It is a computation beyond the power of man.

A thousand years will not see the sum total of this peace crime. Millions of ill-nurtured mothers—a nation of stunted children—proud manhood in bondage—the brightest lights in all the world of science dimmed or extinguished—civilization in a large measure throttled and dying at its source.

Were these peace terms that we have before us, that Mr. Wilson had in mind, by which he sought to detach the German people from their rulers—when he gave utterance to his Fourteen Points, and other important utterances, all bearing on the same important subject? Examine, carefully, and draw your conclusion.

The Allies, according to latest advices just published, are demanding by way of indemnity (they call it reparation), thirty billions of dollars, in round figures.

Now, first of all, let us try to understand what this sum means. Did I say “understand” what this sum means? Such a thing is impossible. The human mind can no more grasp the stupendous significance of these figures than it can comprehend the immensity of space. The only thing we can do is to make some imperfect comparisons.

The significance of this colossal sum will be somewhat understood when we realize that the total valuation of all Belgium in 1914 was slightly in excess of six billions of dollars. In other words, six billions of dollars would fully pay for all Belgian lands, all buildings, both public and private, all machinery, railroads, furniture, bric-a-brac, art treasure, gold coin, in other words, the entire country and everything of value that it contains. Germany, it will be seen, is compelled to present to the Allies an amount of money sufficient to purchase the

lands, buildings, public improvements, art treasures, furniture, and everything of value not merely of one, but five Belguims.

And this in face of the fact that only a small portion of that country was damaged, and very few towns really destroyed. Her principal cities are just as intact to-day as they were before the war. The acreage under cultivation, at the present time, will be found nearly equal to that of 1913.

Almost the same things may be said of France. In order to make it possible for the mind to comprehend true relationships, as between colossal sums, I mention the fact that although twelve per cent of France was occupied by German troops, but three per cent of the total area was really devastated, and two per cent partially so.

Even in the worst cases of devastation, no one can say that the property cannot be turned to some account. Now, assuming that four per cent of the total area of France has been completely destroyed beyond hope of restoration, then it is evident that France lost four per cent of her total wealth. The total wealth of France in 1914 was approximately \$60,000,000,000. Four per cent of this amount would equal† \$2,400,000,000; in other words, \$2,400,000,000 would be the total amount that Germany should, in all conscience, be called upon to pay for the restoration of this devastated area; and that only upon proof of her war guilt and the innocence of her opponents.

The above comparative figures are given only for the purpose of showing both consistency and true proportion.

†The devastated portion was richer than the average of France. It would be fair to raise this estimate somewhat.

Now view this \$30,000,000,000 indemnity from another angle, and see what its imposition will mean to the German people.

As there are approximately nine million families in Germany (after the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, Silesia and Poland) this would mean an assessment of about three thousand five hundred dollars on each and every family. Before the war, the average wealth of each family was approximately \$7,000, and the present value, with war depreciations, etc., cannot be even \$6,000 so it will be seen that the people of Germany are called upon to pay to the Allies more than one-half the value of all their worldly possessions.

Now, assume that the Allies are generous enough to permit Germany to pay off this amount in thirty years at 5% interest. This would be a total yearly amount of \$2,000,000,000, or somewhat in excess of \$300.00 per year for each and every family. The significance of this sum may be gathered from the fact that the average earning of the German family, prior to 1914, was between five and six hundred dollars per year.

Now, if this were a purely local tax, going into the municipal, state, and national treasury, which in turn would be spent at home amongst the people who paid the tax, it would be even then very burdensome, even if there were no other taxes; but it must be remembered that this \$300.00 per year, per family, will be in addition to the present burdensome taxes, and not only that, but every dollar of it must be sent abroad and not a penny of it will go into circulation at home.

There is a vast difference between a country owing a debt of \$30,000,000,000 to her own people, which would be represented in bonds held

by all classes of the people upon which interest would be collected, which interest would, in a large measure, cover any taxation that would be levied, and owing the same burden to outside nations. In the latter case, the total must be spent out of the country, for which there would be no return or no approach to reciprocity.

Now, in what manner must this \$30,000,000,000 be paid, or rather this \$300.00 per year, for each family? As it cannot be paid in money, it must be paid in goods—exports. In other words, the German people must send abroad, each year for thirty years, two billion dollars worth of her surplus products in excess of what she brings in, or, in other words, each family on an average must send out \$300.00 worth of things to eat and to wear, and material for shelter over and above what she requires to dress itself, feed itself and shelter itself.

As the savings of each average family in the nation, under normal conditions, is very small (in Germany it would not exceed \$100.00, after all requirements had been met), it will be seen, even under the most favorable conditions, were each family to be compelled to send abroad, \$300.00 worth of food, clothing and other materials, from which no return would be received, what indescribable distress and want would ensue. That being so, what imagination is necessary to picture the want, sufferings and degradation that will obtain throughout Germany, when the Allies will take their tribute from the meagre and depleted supplies, which meagreness will be inevitable for a generation, owing to the havoc of war.

But if the above were the sum total of the infamy of the peace, one might hope to find

something of an extenuating nature, which would soften and tone down its uglier aspects. On the contrary, the farther we penetrate into the subterranean passages of this Chamber of Horrors, the more evidence we find of the work of the assassin, of a premeditated, organized, systematic, and cowardly crime.

They not only placed on the backs of the emaciated and impoverished German people, guilty and innocent alike, a load which will crush them to the earth, but not content with this, they have cut off the hands and feet of their victims, so that they can neither help themselves, or go forward with their burden.

They have done this in a manner which I will attempt to relate and describe.

Now, the great sinuous and flexible arm which Germany had stretched out to nearly every portion of the habitable globe, was her merchant marine. By means of this, she delivered promptly, and at the lowest possible cost, the proceeds of her great factories, her huge blast furnaces, her cotton mills, with their millions of spindles, her laboratories and her mines; and in return, came back laden with the raw material, which would again feed the great mouths of her roaring and smoking industries. Behind this great arm, as it moved to and fro, backward and forward, over the face of the earth, were the great German people, with their millions of skilled mechanics, their army of research workers, whose night lamps only went out with the stars; a nation devoted to industry, and therefore to the service of mankind.

It was evident, therefore, that this powerful, efficient and purposeful machine would drive antiquated and time-serving, self-satisfied competitors, out of the world market, and thereby

cause trade jealousies—those things which always make wars a possibility.

As has been stated previously, the nation that suffered most from German competition, was Great Britain. It was quite natural and quite characteristic of that nation when, at the peace conference Germany lay helpless on the operating table, with Dr. Woodrow Wilson of Washington, D. C., that eminent psychologist and heart and brain specialist, administering the ether, and Surgeon Clemenceau of Paris, France, a doctor of the old school, who believes in heroic methods of surgery and blood-letting, using the knife, and that world renowned general practitioner, Dr. Lloyd George of London, England, a graduate of all schools, regular and irregular, a trance medium of high order, holding the bucket which is to receive the blood and carvings of the victim—it was quite natural that Dr. Lloyd George after seeing Germany disemboweled for the benefit of France, should suggest to the operator that Germany's arm—her merchant marine arm—should be cut off at the shoulder. As Doctor Wilson was a metaphysician and anaesthetist and not a surgeon, no doubt he was not seriously consulted as to this by his colleagues; however, the arm was amputated, close to the shoulder.

By this surgical operation the Allies destroyed Germany's merchant marine, which was a felling blow at her economic life and existence. With what completeness this act was performed, will be seen from the following:

Germany is to deliver to the Allies all merchant vessels of over 1,600 tons that she possesses and one-half of all vessels between 1,000 and 1,600 tons, not counting trawlers and other minor craft. This means the utter impossibility

of Germany doing any business by water with the rest of the world, unless by using the ships of other nations.

At the present time, owing to shortage of ships, other nations are consequently short of sea transportation facilities and it will be easily understood what price Germany will have to pay for such service, and how she is likely to be served.

Out of this loot America gets 29 of the best freight and passenger vessels to be found in any harbor of the world, and this is but a fragment of the whole. Of this fleet is the *George Washington*, of 25,000 tons displacement, which will go down in history as the vessel which carried Woodrow Wilson to his political graveyard; and buried with him the fondest hopes of mankind. In addition to this vessel is the *Vaterland*, of 54,000 tons, the world's largest and most beautiful ship, and then there is the magnificent Lloyd creation—the *Kronprinzessin Caecilie*.

Thus, with one stroke, that which has been the object of Germany's pride and her rivals' envy, has been taken from her—leaving her poor indeed—but how has it robbed mankind?

In vain will the little children of the world look for the playthings that only those who knew the heart of a child could produce. Silent as the grave will be that land of song and music, the refrain of which echoed around the world: God's silvery voice speaking to the souls of men. The world will look in vain, for years to come, for those mighty engines of steam and electricity, which remove mountains and turn the desert into the bower and the brook. From whence will come those countless instruments and inventions, by the cunning of which we can

almost interpret and register the unspoken thoughts of men; or to whom will we look to restore this drab and dreary world to the varied tints of the rainbow, or the colors of the bird and butterfly?

That servant of the world is gone; that servant who, by night and day, for fifty years or more, by her industry and fair dealings has added to human pleasure, human knowledge and human comfort—is gone. The world will look long for the coming of her like again.

It is known that the immense commercial body of Germany sat firmly on two great legs—coal and iron. With these she was moving forward commercially, at a rate at which she was rapidly out-distancing all rivals. For the benefit of France directly, and for the trade security of Britain indirectly, these mighty legs must be cut off. In doing this, it must be said that the surgeons did not perform so clean a job as in the case of the amputation of Germany's arm; an axe evidently being used instead of a knife. They mutilated the legs more or less, but left sufficient stumps upon which the nation could hobble around within a very narrow area, in central Europe.

We can see in our mind's eye this operation being performed. Germany is again brought to the operating room weak from her previous operations; Professor Wilson carrying the ether, Clemenceau the axe, and Lloyd George the bucket.

The victim is brought into an amphitheatre, in which there are hundreds of excited, gesticulating men, representing nearly every nation of the civilized world. Men alone are present. Even the nurse, that redeeming type of our civilization, with her soft footsteps, like unto

the rustle of an angel wing—is not there. The field is being made ready for her future labors.

What a picture we have before us, as we see the victim, stretched on the table, gagged, and bound; the three men standing near and the emissaries of evil from every land looking on. When will the world bring forth an artist who will put on canvas the faces of these men and this scene; like that great artist who pictured the faces in that masterpiece—"Christ before Pilate"?

We see Wilson with his classic, serious face, nervous and apprehensive, ill-fitted to his surroundings; and Lloyd George, that personification of volcanic energy, shifty as a toreador, agile as an Arabian swordsman, cruel as Caesar, and at times as gentle as the heart of a woman, standing there smiling and complacent; and beside him Clemenceau, that embodiment of the beast, the word "executioner" written into every line of his countenance—in every smile, as in every frown; cruel, merciless and unforgiving; the blood of the Middle Ages, coursing through twentieth century veins, unable and unwilling to see anything but in terms of France—blind and deaf alike to every appeal of reason and every dictate of humanity.

The grim business is soon over—these two great legs—coal and iron—upon which German commercial supremacy rested, are removed.

For a number of years to come, Germany is to deliver to the Allies the stupendous sum of forty million tons of coal annually. As there are but nine million families in Germany, this means that each family on an average must provide for the Allies more than four tons of coal. How many great furnaces will go out, how many million families will go short of fuel, during the

rigorous German winters, the dullest imagination may comprehend.

The same thing applies to iron. Germany obtained the larger portion of her iron ore from Alsace-Lorraine. Her industries, scattered all over the entire country, were created and established in the belief that this supply would be permanent. Alsace-Lorraine now goes back to France—the justice of which we have gone into, in another chapter.

At present, and for years to come, France will be unable to avail herself of this new supply of iron ore, owing to her lack of furnaces and factories and the skilled workmen necessary to operate them. Germany has these furnaces and factories and the talent to operate them. The world is suffering from a lack of finished steel and iron. At one stroke, this great world supply is cut off—without the slightest regard for world needs; the only thought being the destruction of Germany and all her industries.

In America we have seen isolated examples of suffering, caused by the closing down of one particular industry, but this soon would be overcome by other industries taking their place; or if that did not occur, the workers could soon take other positions, or move to nearby towns and be quickly at work again. But imagine the deplorable and hopeless condition, and the want and degradation that will follow, when the industries of a whole country are artificially paralyzed and that without hope of remedy.

The next operation to be performed was the relieving Germany of her colonies. This, though cruel, was not vital to Germany. It is true, that in this, the Allies exacted their pound of flesh, but it was not the flesh from off the

German parent body, but rather the appropriation of her children. The loss therefore, was more sentimental than real—not vital as in the case of the loss of her merchant marine, her iron, and her coal.

Under Article 119 Germany cedes all her right and title to her overseas possessions. To make matters worse for her, she loses not only her title to these colonies, but she is still responsible for any claims or debts standing against these colonies, which were incurred in process of development, or otherwise. In addition to this, we find the following iniquitous feature: "The Allies and Associated Powers reserve the right to retain and liquidate, all property, rights, and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force, of the present treaty, to German nationals or companies controlled by them in the German colonies."

Thus Germany is swept clean of her colonies, and the citizens of these colonies may be deprived of their rights without redress. The same provision applies to Alsace-Lorraine. By the treaty, France may confiscate the property of any German resident at will.

In addition to this, Germany must pay off any debts incurred before the war, which now cover Alsace-Lorraine, money spent in the public improvements, etc., of these provinces.

The unbearable financial burden already described that has been put on the back of Germany, and the amputations, which will render her almost helpless, have also been supplemented by mutilations and indignities, for number, diabolical cunning, and disregard for justice, which are without parallel in history. They have fastened these unfortunate people to the cross by a thousand and one nails, in

addition to the cruel iron spikes, already described.

I have another task to perform aside from showing the war guilt and peace crimes of the Allies and therefore must bring this chapter to a close.

Volumes could be written if details were undertaken.

I will simply ask the reader to consider but a few of the minor strands by which, in addition to the spikes and the nails, Germany is fastened to the cross.

Examine the tariff provisions by which Germany has to receive goods without being permitted to exact duty, and does not receive the same privilege in return; her great inland waterway system under the control of her enemies; the west bank of the Rhine subject to their tariff control, and other regulations of the victors; day and night at the mercy of the so-called Reparation Commission, made to pass any laws or do any service that these men, with their unlimited powers, backed by menacing armies, may dictate.

And the relation of this Instrument to Germany forms only a part of the blight cast upon the world by this hand of Death. It ignores every element of economic law, decapitates with a stroke one of the world's greatest reservoirs of supply, disregards human trends and customs, and tears asunder that which has been cemented by the centuries, leaving peace little less to be desired than war.

The Versailles Agreement was arrived at after six months of plotting and intrigue, in an atmosphere of greed, hate, falsehood, and revenge. It was conceived in lust and born of lies. It is the foul creature of the night.

Had all the German people been guilty, and the Allies as innocent as the angels, still this treaty would have been an abomination because it usurps the functions of Providence, in that it wreaks vengeance; and has it not been proclaimed "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord"?

But how is this great account to be balanced? That it will—be assured. The mills of the gods may grind out this grist slowly, or they may vomit it out like an earthquake. Already, ominous subterranean rumbles are being heard.

It is said that before an earthquake takes place, cattle become uneasy, birds fly wildly to and fro, all living things except men become excited and apprehensive. In a mysterious way, they sense coming danger.

His eyes are blind, indeed, who does not see the dark clouds gathering on the horizon; and deaf are those ears that do not hear the rumbles of Nature's gathering physical and spiritual forces. Humanity everywhere is sensing danger. They realize that all is not well. The civilization of other days through injustice, although dwelling in the security of hewn rocks, was swept away, and likewise our civilization, less secure in our skyscrapers will, if we do not take warning, collapse like a house of cards.

To-day, our so-called civilization is on trial—on trial before the great Judge of the Universe. It is on trial like other civilizations that have gone before, and have been found wanting. If there is not enough righteousness in this world—enough Christian spirit, which will rise and destroy the evil of this Peace—our civilization like other civilizations will be over-turned and we shall be commanded to build on new foundations—other than greed and hate.

God will not permit this iniquity. He will not

permit a new edifice to be erected—after the plan of these Versailles taskmasters, which has for a foundation, injustice, and a superstructure—to be made of human bones—cemented by human blood and tears.

* * * * *

“And the Kings of the earth, and the great men and the rich men, and the captains, and the mighty men, and every bond man, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and the rocks: ‘Fall on us, and hide us from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of His wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?’ ”

CHAPTER VIII

THE LESSONS AND THE REMEDY

Out of this deluge of blood, from this storm of fire that has swept Europe, will the peoples of the world learn a lesson, will they get a new vision, will they see and understand those accursed forces that are enslaving mankind, leading nations, like herds of cattle, to slaughter, forcing humanity to march in multitudes, through highways infested with thieves, their hands tied and eyes blindfolded, led on either by a pygmy king, an ambitious minister of state, or a so-called "Constitutional Representative of the people"—the president of a republic?

The people of every nation that entered the great war were grossly misled, misrepresented and deceived, whether their form of government was an autocracy, constitutional monarchy, or a republic.

In no case had the people of any country anything whatsoever to say regarding their destiny—this was just as true of America as it was of Russia, Germany, France or Britain.

In no case were the people consulted—not one. In America, like all the rest, the will of one man was supreme.

In no instance did the people of any nation want war. The people of Russia did not want war, nor the people of Germany nor of France nor of Britain, much less America. They desired peace. They wished to be left alone to till their lands, operate their factories, educate their children, and live their lives in peace.

But, you say, they all entered the war and

fought, and this being so they must have been willing and eager to do so. That conclusion I will not question. We have here the most perplexing problem in national psychology, a phenomenon, difficult to dissect or analyze.

We know, for instance, the power of electricity; but we cannot analyze it. Every man who wields the scepter of power in a nation, whether he be Czar, Kaiser, King or President, knows the existence of a hidden, latent national force and he realizes how he can chain it to his will and desire. In order to bring this power of so-called national patriotism into action, he first commits his country to a foreign program; through the medium of the press fills the public mind with a sense of danger; arouses a spirit of prejudice and ill-will; starts the flags waving and the bands playing and in an incredibly short time a wave of frenzy passes over the land and soon the people are prepared for a blood sacrifice.

This is precisely what took place, first in Russia, then in Germany and France, then in England and her colonies and afterwards, to as marked a degree in America.

To-day the world is suffering from the result of a patriotic debauch. To-day every country is suffering from the sin of idolatry—the worship of nationality—the sin of flag worship. So long as this is so, “the man on horseback” is sure of his following; the king knows where he can get his recruits; an ambitious autocratic president of a republic knows upon whose shoulders he may step towards “a Place in the Sun.”

If ultra-patriotism is a virtue in a people, then all the warring countries are on an equality—the Germans being as fervent in their homage and devotion to their flag as the Americans or

the British or the French. But it is not a virtue in a people—it is a national sin—it is a species of pagan idolatry, a sin that has brought its punishment down through the history of mankind—and never more swift and certain and retributive than during the late war.

There is to-day in America more real, live and sincere reverence for the American flag than there is for the Cross which is symbolic of Christ. I venture to say that, if in the presence of a crowd, a man threw a stone through a church window, even a window in which is inscribed the words of Christ, the worst that would happen to him is that he might be handed over to the police. But let the same man cast a missile at the American flag and instantly he would be torn almost limb from limb. There is no question regarding the truth of that.

Those who attended war meetings held in the different American churches must have, on reflection, been astounded at what they heard and saw. The usual religious hymns would be sung in order to impress the people with the sacredness of their surroundings. These would be sung in a very perfunctory, if not a half-hearted way. But note the change in the demeanor and spirit of the audience when the "Star-Spangled Banner" or "America" would be sung. What sparkling eyes—what heaving breasts!

The roof would almost rise with the fiery fervor of the audience. How joyfully they would sing "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty," and that, perhaps, after some of these same people had recently assisted in tarring and feathering some unfortunate who refused to buy Liberty Bonds or who, without due consideration for consequences, publicly quoted such antiquated sayings as these: "He

who is without sin among you, cast the first stone," or "Blessed are the peace-makers" or, perchance "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord."

In this, the last chapter, I will endeavor to point out the three things that the peoples of the world must do in order to insure world peace.

(1) They must cease the idolatrous worship of flags and nationalities and substitute international based on the brotherhood of man.

(2) International statesmen must restore the world's equilibrium by creating confidence based on justice.

There are evidences to be found in every country of a rising tide setting in, which if not checked by wise regulation and international adjustments, will carry away existing authority as the raging mountain torrent sweeps away dykes and dams as though they were handfuls of straw. The waters are disturbed and troubled in all countries, while in others the lands are flooded by revolutions and the people are being submerged. Ancient land-marks, long thought secure, have been swept away or obliterated.

Before the world can have true peace, the peoples of the different nations must insist upon the wiping out of all international agreements which are based on injustice and maintained by autocratic force.

The principal of these, of course, is the Versailles peace treaty, by which is sought the enslavement of the German people.

Whether the destruction of this enormity may come as a result of evolution or revolution, it is not my purpose to endeavor to forecast. There is, however, a spirit growing amongst the workers and producers of all lands which recognizes the common brotherhood of labor, and a sense

of justice which is not circumscribed by national frontiers or artificially made boundaries, which will demand that all forms of slavery of their fellows, no matter where existing, must be destroyed.

The fate of many a ship of state, with their precious cargoes, will depend on how their captains interpret the restless barometer and read aright these signs in the heavens—or whether they mistake the tokens of an incipient storm for the warning of an impending tornado.

(3) The people must have complete control over their own destiny, as in a true democracy; a state where the will of the people, not a select few, is supreme.

There is not a democracy on the face of the earth to-day. There is not one country in which the people rule. America is not a democracy—it is a semi-autocracy known as a republic. A republic in many respects is one of the most vicious forms of government extant. Under this form of government the people are constantly bled, misled and misrepresented.

In this country the people are at the mercy of two soulless autocratic machines, and are ruled by these. It is true that we have the privilege of temporarily getting rid of one autocratic machine at the expiration of each two or four years and substituting another one therefor, but that process has its disadvantages in that we discard a sleek and fatted crew for a lean and hungry one. So under this blessed republican form of government, we are engaged year after year in the task of kicking the lazy, dishonest, over-fat republican aggregation out of the back door and letting in the hungry, whining and forlorn democratic contingent at the front door; and no sooner is this done than the

republican horde takes a position in waiting at the front door, knowing full well that in a certain time the democratic contingent will disgrace itself in the eyes of the public and be kicked out and then the waiting republicans re-enter, not because they are wanted, but for the reason that under our present form of government we must endure either one or the other. As a protest against this farce, millions of reputable citizens will not walk across the street to record their votes.

We elect our so-called representatives for two or four years. During the election campaign all manner of promises are made—only to be broken.

Have you ever observed the practical workings of this so-called “Representative” Government of ours, at short range—at Washington? If you have, you will marvel that the American people have not long ago gone bankrupt or become revolutionists.

What spectacle do we observe at the national capitol? Here we find four or five hundred men, assembled from every state in the Union, given absolute power under the constitution to enact such laws as they will, spend such amounts of money as they desire, and commit the people to a thousand and one obligations, enterprises and covenants both at home and abroad.

And who are these men and what influences surround them?

They are usually of two classes—business or professional men who have been failures in their business or profession; or if not these, the representatives of “interests”—commercial and otherwise.

The latter class are usually in the pay of these “interests” and the former impecunious.

class, are recipients of tips, favors and bribes, the amounts of these depending on how badly the "interests" are in need of legislative assistance.

Come with me in imagination to Washington, the seat of your national government; and watch the operation of that great machine that makes your laws, levies your taxes, expends your money, makes war and declares peace, and does a thousand and one things which affect you at every turn and from every angle.

Your "representative" is there. You see him seated at his little desk, surrounded by other little desks at which other men are sitting. The legislative machine is running at full speed, accompanied by a strange and unfamiliar hum. Your ears are not yet in tune with your surroundings. Although reasonably near, you only catch an occasional word, amid the babble and confusion. You are as near the different speakers as your "representative" is, and you marvel at what manner of ears he has, if they are able to transmit to the brain all that has been said. You give up the hopeless task of finding out what it is all about and to assure yourself, you fasten your eyes again on your "representative." You study his countenance. You try to divine from his face the importance of the occasion and the proceedings. He yawns, he looks bored, he shifts uneasily in his seat, he manicures his nails; and while another "representative" is pounding a desk, impressing the importance of his utterances, your "representative" is seen stooping over and relating to his desk mate what you suspect is either a funny joke or a good story.

Hour after hour passes away and you have yet to find one expression of either interest in

the proceedings or quickened human intelligence in the face of your "representative." The House is at last adjourned for the night. Bored and bedraggled, your "representative" goes out into the darkness, with whom and where, Heaven alone knows, and Heaven, for some unknown reason, does not always tell the secrets of a Congressman.

You go to your hotel feeling that something was "done" at the session—but you have no intelligent idea what it was. You open up the morning paper and to your amazement you find that the night previous, two hundred and fifty million dollars were appropriated, taxes involving millions were levied and several laws vitally affecting every man, woman and child in America, were passed.

Now, follow this man out into the night, under cover of the darkness of which the beasts and reptiles of the jungle come forth to meet their prey. This man carries with him the purse-strings of the nation, strings that open at will the overflowing ornate wallet of the rich and the meagre earnings and savings of the poor—tied in the discarded rags of poverty. He carries with him not only this, but a thousand and one other powers and privileges which, when used or put in operation have power for good and evil almost beyond human imagination. No armed caravan, crossing the desert waste, bearing to civilization rubies, diamonds and pearls beyond the wealth of Cræsus, is comparable to the treasure borne by this man—your "representative," as he disappeared into the darkness—into the jungle.

Ask yourself, seriously, what hand feeds these creatures of the night—these ravenous beasts of prey—the number of which is legion; or who

feeds that myriad aggregation of lizards that infest not only the streets, depots and hotels of Washington, but every wing and corridor of the Capitol as well? The hand that feeds these creatures is the hand of your "representative"—not only these creatures, but the "interests" that stand back of them. You have given, without question, the power to do this. Take away this power (in a way that I will presently indicate) and before twenty-four hours after this power has been taken away you would see such an exodus of these beasts and reptiles from Washington as would tax every railroad to its limit.

To eradicate the evils of our so-called representative system, means must be taken to curtail those absolute powers that the American people have placed in the hands of those who represent them.* The people must be the final

*The writer recently had the pleasure of hearing a kindly reference made to the desirability of a republican, as compared to a democratic form of government. The Honorable Leslie M. Shaw, ex-Secretary of the United States Treasury, a statesman of the old school (who by the way, unlike most of his associates, has not outlived his usefulness) asked his audience which procedure would prove more satisfactory for the people, in case, for instance in the building of a ship; for the people to delegate men who know all about ships and have them complete the transaction, or have the ship built by the public which has no knowledge of ships or shipbuilding. The point to be brought home to his audience, of course, is that our Representatives in Congress know what the people want and are better able to transact the public business than the great mass of the people, who are not equipped for such business.

In theory Mr. Shaw is correct. We need experts to carry out our prospective undertakings and one man in this may do more successful work than a million. But for instance you desire to build a house—you employ an architect to do the planning and the carrying out of your wishes and desires. But mark the difference. Under our present republican form of government, your architects, without consulting you, *decide for you*, and the nation of *which you are a part*, that you need a ship (or a railroad or a canal or a law) and also decides what that ship shall cost, what kind of a ship it shall be, what particular use shall be made of it, and you, or rather the people, have nothing to say about it, either as to its necessity, its use,

judge as to the wisdom or necessity of any and all important legislation.

How this may be done without destroying the structure of our present form of government, I will attempt to outline.

My proposition is, that our government consist of four branches instead of three, as at present. Instead of the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial, as now obtains, we should have four branches, namely: The Initiative, the Public Approval, the Executive and the Judicial.

In making this change, the present structure, with one exception, will remain; but one important addition is recommended:

(1) Abolish the Senate. It is in no sense a representative institution—representing only a certain class and type of men and a certain class and type of business.

(2) Retain the present House of Representatives and make of this what will be known as the Initiative Branch.

(3) Establish a Public Approval branch.

(4) Retain our present Executive and Judicial branches, with some modifications.

(5) Have the members of the Initiative branch elected for a period of four years, instead of two, as at present, and the President for eight years instead of four.

or its cost—you simply have to accept it and pay the bill. The only thing left for you to do in case you are dissatisfied, is after two years you may have revenge by dismissing your Representative and putting in his place, one that you have already dismissed previously for either stupid or dishonest service.

What we want, and the people must have, are legislative architects selected by the people and delegated to submit plans and specifications for the approval of the people, and when once the people approve of these plans these architects can carry them into effect, and not before.

Of course, if Mr. Shaw claims that the people do not know what they want, or are incapable of deciding what is good for them—that is another story.

The Initiative branch would resemble in many respects our present House of Representatives, and would be elected in the same manner as now obtains. They would initiate all legislation, both those of minor and major character. Minor laws and legislation, with the President's approval, would, as now, become law. Major legislation, of prime importance and which would affect the people materially, before becoming effective would have to pass the Public Approval branch; and then, under certain conditions, would become law without the President's approval.

Now, the important change in the form of government which I propose will be found in the establishment of the additional branch, namely, the Public Approval branch.

It is important that I should elaborate this clearly; for by reason of this branch and through it we can have a real democracy—a government which will express the absolute and unqualified will of the people, instead of the will of a hand-picked body of men.

I will endeavor to show that when what I am pleased to call the Public Approval branch, gives approval or disapproval to the laws which the Initiative branch has passed, this approval or disapproval will in every sense reflect the prevailing wishes of the American people; and that, free from every form of contamination. It will remove the American Government from the jungle.

It will be seen that the Initiative branch will not be the important mechanism of the governmental machine; and therefore the briber and corruptionist will find it almost useless to spend his money in order to have his pet measure passed by one branch, when it has to go before

the Public Approval branch, which will be impossible to buy or control.

As has been stated, the source of all legislation will be the Initiative branch. They will formulate and pass such laws, minor and major, as they deem wise. These, usually, will be in obedience to the demands of the people. That is the first step in the legislative process. After the Initiative Congress performs its labors and adjourns, those enactments of a major character are passed on to the Public Approval branch, for acceptance or rejection.

This branch will comprise the voters of one Assembly District in each state of the forty-eight states of the Union. The Governor of each state, at a public ceremony, will draw by lot the Assembly District that will represent his particular state. For instance, New York State has 150 Assembly Districts. Each district has approximately fifteen thousand voters. California has 80 Assembly Districts, each containing a smaller number of votes than those in New York State. The particular district that may be drawn in each state may be a rural one or a city one but when the forty-eight districts are drawn, representing the whole United States, an average of rural and city districts will be reached, so that when these forty-eight districts record their wishes and desires, both city and country have spoken. As soon as the Governor of each state has impartially drawn the legislative district that will, for the time being, together with the other legislative districts of the other states, make up the Public Approval branch, the authorities at Washington will immediately send a fac-simile ballot to each and every voter in the district, based on registration. A new registration in these districts

would immediately take place and an election day be named by the government. The majority of votes in these districts would determine whether the laws and enactments passed by the Initiative branch should become the laws of the land or not. Should sixty per cent of the voters in these widely scattered forty-eight districts approve a particular law, then that law comes into effect without the signature of the President. Should less than sixty per cent and more than fifty per cent approve, then the President's signature would be necessary, in order to complete the legislation.

In addition to this, the question would be submitted to these voters as to whether the Initiative branch should be recalled or not. If sixty per cent of the voters, together with fifty per cent of the total number of states, should vote for a recall of the Initiative branch—a general Congressional election would have to take place within six months. This would place members of the Initiative Congress on their good behavior—all the time.

It must be understood that each year a new drawing of Assembly Districts would take place, which would form the basis of the Public Approval branch for that particular year.

The recall provision would apply to the President as well. The President would be elected for eight years. If, in two consecutive years, the voters comprising the Public Approval branch should by a sixty per cent vote demand the recall of the President, a new election must take place at the same time as the next regular or irregular Congressional election.

No fear need be felt regarding unnecessary elections.

We may take it for granted that if more than

sixty per cent of the voters scattered over the entire United States as represented in the Public Approval branch ask for a recall of the President or Congress, there would be a mighty good reason back of the demand.

The President would have the power of appointing the Judges of the Supreme Court. These appointments should be for life or good conduct, as at present. However, the people should have the privilege of recall of these officials in the following manner. The ballot should contain the following interrogation: "Shall the members of the United States Supreme Court be recalled?" If sixty per cent of the people vote in the affirmative on two successive occasions, then the President must recall up to half the number comprising the membership of the Court and name new members to take their place. It will be the President's business to know what members of the Court are under the suspicion of the public. Should the President show disregard for the people's wishes, then he will be in danger of recall himself.

The advantages resulting from this change in the structure of our government will be:

(1) The Initiative Congress will be in every sense the servants and not the masters of the American people.

(2) The Public Approval branch will in every sense represent the average thought, aspiration and ideal of the American people, which should be the beginning and the end of all legislation.

(3) Under this system all lobbying and every form of graft would be eliminated, as what use would there be in a corruptionist controlling the Initiative branch when the question of acceptance or rejection would be in the hands of the voters of forty-eight districts, each district rep-

resenting several thousand voters and these districts scattered over the entire country; and protected by stringent laws against outside influences.

(4) Under this system we should have suffrage at its best. Every voter in these favored districts would become alive to his importance and responsibility. He would feel that he was deciding momentous questions for the nation—he would, in fact, be a member of Congress—for the time being.

As these forty-eight Assembly Districts would be drawn fresh every year, and their location not known in advance, little chance would there be for the forces of graft and corruption to fasten themselves in any way on the communities.

Under this plan, the voters of the entire country would elect and send experts to Washington. Their duties would be to formulate and pass laws for the consideration and approval of the people's branch—a branch which consists of forty-eight scattered districts. The people would have the right to accept or reject these laws and regulations, as submitted by the Initiative branch. Under this plan, the American people would become true masters of their own destiny. It is only in this way that the peoples of the world may overcome the different forms of autocracies that enslave them. As new democracies are created, fraternity and brotherhood will link the nations of the world together, and a treaty such as was recently signed in Paris will receive at the hands of the democracies of the world, the fate that it so justly deserves.

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This nation could not endure, half slave and